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Reduplicated Patterns in Classical Armenian

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There are, perhaps, about a dozen reduplicated verbal stems in Armenian for which an Indo-European origin has been responsibly suggested[1]; in addition, there is a similar number of nominal stems of Indo-European origin that also seem to show evidence for reduplication. And though some of the nominal stems quite likely continue an original Indo-European model, the verbal etymologies are almost always problematic. One has difficulty reconstructing a pristinely clear proto-form that will conform to the standard rules of Armenian historical phonology. And, in those instances when all phonological requirements can be satisfied, one too often has problems of a semantic nature, where the Armenian word does not square well with the meanings of the other Indo-European dialect words.

That there are an abundance of reduplicated presents in Armenian cannot be denied; that they represent Armenian continuations of Indo-European models is another question entirely. Meillet (1936.113) discussed the problem briefly. His point was obscured because he listed a large number of words of unknown origin along with a small handful of words that have been traditionally viewed as of Indo-European origin. His comments are not particularly helpful. Recently Robert Godel, who has made the greatest contributions to Armenian historical morphology since Meillet, touched lightly upon Armenian verbal reduplication. Within the framework of his discussion of Armenian reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European thematic present tense (1975.123), he inserts a brief note on the reduplicated presents. There he simply acknowledges that the bulk of the words which

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Meillet quotes "are not traceable to PIE models". Godel's intuitions, not fully spelled out, are most appropriate, for there is a serious question about the continuation, from Proto-Armenian, of the Indo-European reduplicated class.

But in spite of this question about the Armenian continuation of the Indo-European reduplicated category in Armenian, there is no question that Armenian, both in the earliest literate period as well as abundantly in the present period, uses reduplicated verbal patterns and, without doubt, abundantly shows that the pattern is still productive in the modern language. There is no shortage of scholarly comment of a synchronic nature on this theme. A. A. Abrahamyan devotes considerable space to the phenomenon (1962.136-156), giving a catalogue of the different shapes the reduplicated roots can assume. Abeghyan (1931.185-186 [= 1965.183-184]) also acknowledges the category, though briefly, but gives an impressive list of Armenian reduplicated words of an onomatopoetic nature that are largely neologistic[2]. A rather more succinct survey appears in volume two of the three volume Armenian Academy study of the Modern Armenian language (Žam. II.305-308). Studies of reduplication in the classical language are less common. Jensen (1959.45) says that "Reduplication ist selten im Armenischen", and gives only a few examples, some of which he claims are of Indo-European origin. Tumanyan (1971.167-170) is a bit more thorough, and notes that "v grabare produktivna model' polnoj reduplikacii pri nalicii soedinitel'noj glasnoj". She cites *mecamec* 'very great' (= Skt. *maha-*, Lat. *magnus*) which is clearly a form created within Armenian, and čʿaračʿčʿar 'very bad', the etymological origin of which is not known. Adjarian devotes a large section of his *Grammar* (1957.69-100, esp. 83-100) to a survey of reduplication in general, and then as it specifically applies to Armenian. However, though both Tumanyan and Adjarian make diachronic comments, neither can provide a significant number of verbs or nouns which they call Indo-European; most words cited are from unknown sources.

It appears that the problem has not yet been squarely faced, and the inherited Indo-European phenomenon's continuation in Armenian has never been severely questioned.[3] This paper will examine about two dozen of the etymologies that have become part of the Armenian inventory of Indo-European vocabulary; it will be shown that very few of these etymologies hold up when subject to rigid analysis.

Weak etymologies have been a constant problem in Armenian linguistics. The conservative views found in Hübschmann's *Gram-*

matik, to which this present writer wholly subscribes, have been re-peatedly violated. The vague etymologies presented both before Hübschmann, and after him as well, have all too often found them-selves firmly rooted in modern etymological handbooks[4]. Further, contemporary writers seem willing to compound the problem pro-lifically. Contemporary Soviet scholars are guilty of positing new etymological equations which have only the slimmest chance of being correct. And even among the more conservative Western schol-ars one finds statements that recall pre-Hübschmann phonology. Re-cently Rüdiger Schmitt (1980.418-421) has reposited that prevocalic IE *w* can produce Arm. *v* ("muss eine Lautentwicklung idg. *w- > armen. v- weiterhin als Möglichkeit erwogen werden"). Yet he is un-able to formulate any rules that would explain this shift; the passage stands in stark contradiction to our well supported view that prevo-calic *w* abundantly passes to Arm. g.

Too often phonological laws are broken, ignored or twisted when the pressures of etymologizing demand it. This is unfortunate, for we must regard Armenian phonology with the same strict rules that we apply to any other Indo-European dialect. This is not to say that we must abandon such etymologies as Arm. du, Lat. tu 'thou' or Arm. *amis*, Gk. μήν 'month' because there are phonological problems; nor must we reject the correlation of Arm. *ataspel* 'boastful', Gk. ἀπειλή 'fable' because there is some semantic unbalance. Yet on the other hand, in spite of the semantic closeness of Arm. *ašun*, OCS *je-seni* 'autumn', the etymology must be rejected on phonological grounds; and in spite of the phonological closeness of Arm. *aptak* 'slap, blow' and OCS *obida* 'injustice', this etymology fails on the se-mantic level.

Following is given a list of all the Armenian words that have been responsibly proposed as being of Indo-European origin. In all but a few of the cases we note that there are serious phonological or semantic problems. In some instances, both sets of rules seem to be flaunted.

1. *azazim* 'to dry, fade', Gk. ἄζω 'dry', ἄσβολος 'soot', Goth. azgo 'ash' IE *azgh-. In the first place, Gk. ἄζω 'to dry' cannot be part of the paradigm since that pattern must be derived from IE *ad-yo-. Iden-tification with Gk. ἄσβολος 'soot' is also difficult, especially if it must also include Arm. *ačiwn* 'soot, ash', and yet still acknowledge that Gk. ἄσβολος is difficult to derive from an Indo-European model. Fur-ther correlations have also been made with Lat. *areo* 'become dry', Toch. AB *as-* 'id', which must be viewed as impossible. That IE *ǵh

can become Arm. z in a pre-vocalic position cannot be rejected (Greppin 1980); that some other combination has the same effect cannot be proved. Hübschmann long ago rejected this etymology (AG 412); Frisk (GEW 160-161) notes that they "miteinander z.T. starke Ahnlichkeiten aufweisen" but does not provide a clear Indo-European model. Thus the correspondence of Arm. azazim with some Greek word or another is tempting, but hardly strong enough to be a bulwark in an etymological paradigm; there are too many difficulties.

2. dadar 'peace, rest, dwelling', Skt. dhar- 'stop', IE *dher-; Lagarde 1877.40, Hübschmann AG vacat; continued in Pokorny IEW 253; Mayrhofer KeWA vacat. Supported by Solta (1960.373-374) with reference to the reduplicated Sanskrit form didhīrsā 'the desire to sit' (desiderative in s) which is of course not to the point since reduplicated desideratives are productive within Indic.[5] Tumanyan (1978.172) also affirms the etymology, saying that "Reduplikacija zdes' tipicna dlja indoarijskix i armjanskogo", a view that begs the question. Adjarian avoids saying (HAB².610) that dadar is of direct Indo-European origin, but does suggest that it is a reduplicated pattern built on darem 'to perch'. The stem dadar, from which the verbal form dadarem is derived, cannot be of direct Indo-European origin since IE *dhedhr-, if it existed, would produce Arm. *dedar, which we do not have. Abrahamyan (1962.140) suggests that dadar is part of a whole class of reduplicated verbs and nouns that are secondarily generated in Armenian from the pattern *CVC-CVC- > CV-CVC, thus PreArmenian *dar-dar- > dadar.

It is clear that Arm. dadar cannot be directly derived from Indo-European; rather, it is refashioned from the verbal form darem which is, none the less, probably related directly to IE *dher-, Skt. dhar-.

3. dedewim 'vacillate, totter, shake', Skt. dhunoti 'shake, agitate', and perhaps Gk. θύω 'rage, storm'; IE *dhe-dhew-. Supported by Solta (1960.242-423) who refers ineffectively to the productive Skt. dodhaviti. The etymology is impossible since an earlier IE *dhe-dhew-V- would produce Arm. *dedegim, the regular shift of prevocalic *w > g in Armenian (note kov 'cow' but kogi 'butter', IE *gʷow-; arew 'sun', but aregakn < *(A)rew-okʷ-). Arm. dedewim cannot directly continue an Indo-European pattern, though it may be secondarily denominative from preArm. *dedew, though that form does not exist.

4. tʿatʿawem 'plunge, immerse', OCS topiti 'dip, plunge'. Approved in Hübschmann AG 448, Solta 1960.445; Adjarian HAB rejects any etymology, though Saradževa (1980.235) approves, suggesting an

original *tap-ni which would produce preArm. tᶜawn-; unfortunately, no comparative support for the n suffix is given, nor are we informed how preArm. tᶜawn- passed to tᶜatᶜawem.

It is likely that Arm. tᶜapᶜem 'spill, empty, overturn' might be related to this paradigm; if it is, it creates further difficulties when contrasted with tᶜatᶜawem. Though it is impossible to entirely reject the correlation of tᶜatᶜawem with OCS topiti, it remains most difficult to explain exactly the processes that produced the form we end up with.

5.   tᶜitᶜeṙn 'butterfly', Gk. πτερόν 'feather', Lat. acci-piter 'hawk', IE *pter-. There is no exact Indo-European progenitor, though tᶜitᶜeṙn does harmonize with cicaṙn 'swallow bird' (qv). It is likely that tᶜitᶜeṙn is secondarily produced within Armenian. See tᶜṙtᶜṙem below.

6.   tᶜṙtᶜṙem 'to flutter'; cognates as with tᶜitᶜeṙn above. This form is most likely secondarily derived from an inner Armenian process; the stem pattern tᶜ(V)r- is closely related to words signifying flight or flying things (tᶜṙčᶜun 'bird', tᶜṙanim 'fly, etc.), and is ultimately derived from IE *pter-.

7.   tᶜṙtᶜrak 'good speaker; flattery'. Weakly related by Petersson (1916.90) to ənternum 'to read'; with Russ. taratorit' 'chatter, babble', Czech. tratoriti 'speak quickly' (Saradževa 1977.37). The word is more likely onomatopoetic.

8.   xaxankᶜ 'derisive laughter', Gk. καγχάζω 'to laugh loudly'. More likely onomatopoetic (Solta 1960.162) than from IE *kh (*kH-?); rejected by Hübschmann AG 445.

9.   cicaṙn 'swallow bird'. Petersson (1916.287) suggested that this form was derived from IE *ǵar-, as in Gk. γῆρυς 'voice', etc., though swallows are perhaps not best known for their lung power. A form *ǵoi-ǵar-n- is possible (Adjarian 1957.91, with parallels) though it smacks of root etymology (Greppin 1978.180-183).

10.   kokord 'throat', Arm. ker 'food', eker 'he ate', Skt. girati 'swallow', IE *gʷer-. Reduplication is found in Gk. βι-βρώσκω 'eat'. Supported in Hübschmann AG 460 and in Solta (1960.67). The etymology is functional on a phonological, morphological and semantic level. The suffix -d finds a parallel in spand 'murder' (spananem 'kill'; of unknown origin). Adjarian draws our attention to the rhyming words sosord 'throat' and sosord 'dim light, eccentric person' which have no established etymology. This etymology is most difficult to refute, and could stem from the Indo-European period though, equally, it could be secondary within preArmenian.

11. *hełeł* 'torrent'. This noun is compared with Lith. pìlti 'to pour', and is derived from an unsubstantiated *pel-nu-. The form *helel* would thus be produced by a proto-form *peln-peln-, which is not agreeable; an alternative is to invoke assimilation from an earlier *hełeł* < *pel-peln-. A deverbative origin from *helum* is more likely, occurring in the preArmenian period. See *ołoł* below.

12. *hototim* 'to smell', Arm. *hot* 'odor', Lat. *odor* 'id', IE *Oed-. *Hototim* is probably derived in the preliterate period from the noun *hot*. Otherwise we would expect Arm. *hohotim*.

13. *mamuł* 'moss', OHG *mos*, Lat. *muscus* 'moss', IE *mos. Hübschmann AG vacat; Solta 1960.179-180. Saradževa (1980.109) suggests ORuss. mux, Bulg. mux, Russ. mox in addition., IE *meus-. The etymology is impossible since Armenian does not show evidence for rhotacism.

14. *mlmlem* 'to rub one's eye's when awakening'. To assign this verb to the root *mel- 'grind', Arm. *malem* 'grind, crush' smacks of root etymology.

15. *mṛmṛam* 'to murmur', Gk. μομύρω, Lat. murmuro, etc. Rejected in Hübschmann AG 476 as onomatopoetic, item Solta (1960.102); note also Georgian murmuri 'a murmur'.

16. *ołoł* 'innundation'; an o-grade of *heł-* (see *hełeł*), from IE *pol-n-, thus *poln-poln- or as with configurations suggested for *hełeł* above. Hittite origin has been suggested (Greppin 1978-79.434; seconded Puhvel 1977.598) which is a simpler solution.

17. *ǰnǰem* 'to clean, wipe, erase', Skt. *hanti*, IE *gʷhen- 'strike'. Not a reduplicated pattern, but from IE *gʷheny-, as noted by Schmitt (1980.428).

18. *sisełn* 'chickpea', Lat. *cicer*, Maced. κίκκεροι, Prus. *keckers* (Germanic loan, *Kicher* [Schmalstieg 1976.264]) 'chickpea', IE *kiker-. The Arm. *sisełn* seems, most simply, to directly continue IE *kiker-n-, though the maintenance of i in unstressed syllable in odd.

19. *tatrak* 'dove, Streptopelia turtur' (Greppin 1978.134-136). Hübschmann and Solta vacant; IEW 1079; Russ. *teterev* 'heathcock', Lat. *turtur* 'turtle dove'. Saradževa (1980.106) suggests IE *tet(e)r- which would, of course, produce Arm. tᶜ-. Similarities among bird names are not uncommon, even when they are probably unrelated. Note Arm. *bu* 'owl', but Lat. *bubo*, NPer. *bum* 'id', etc. If the stem is *bu, then Arm. *pu would have resulted. Onomatopoetic.

20. *cᶜucᶜanem* 'reveal'; not a reduplicated pattern, but from IE *skew-sko-.

21. *pᶜrpᶜurkᶜ* 'foam, froth', Gk. ἄφρος 'id', IE *Aphr-, *ApHr- (?).

Hübschmann *AG* vacat; Frisk (*GEW* I.197) 'sehr zweifelhaft'. If the initial Greek *alpha* is derived from a laryngeal, then it should be continued in Armenian, as would *a-phr-*. The etymology is unlikely.

It would appear that five nominal patterns (*t^cit^cełn, cicałn, kokord, hełeł* and *sisełn*) could represent reflections of Indo-European stems. The case, however, is entirely clear only for *sisełn* 'chickpea'; it is fairly likely for *kokord* whereas the other three are clearly not related to any Indo-European reduplicated stems; the etymology of *cicałn* requires some good will; *hełeł* can be explained only by invoking *ad hoc* solutions and *t^cit^cełn* must somehow be deverbative from *t^crt^cem; kokord* conforms as much to non-Indo European patterns as it does to established Indo-European patterns.

Among the verbs, only two forms would appear to have an Indo-European heritage: *hototim* 'to smell' and *t^crt^cem* 'flutter'. These two do not reflect an established Indo-European reduplicated pattern, but would seem to be newly fashioned in pre-literate Armenian times from nominal bases (*hot* 'odor' and *t^cṙ-anim* 'to fly').

This abundant lack of continued reduplicated patterns of Indo-European origin give us ample cause to conclude that the inherited Indo-European reduplicated patterns became extinct in Armenian. This is, of course, not an unheard of phenomenon in late Indo-European. The Germanic languages abandoned the pattern, as did Tocharian, and as it appears proto-Armenian did.

Yet it is also clear that Armenian had, in earliest literature, a productive reduplicating class, as it still does. If it is not directly derived from Indo-European, what then is its origin? To answer this question it is necessary to look at the numerous substratum dialects that have been diagnosed in Armenian, and which are reflected in Armenian by loan words. The largest component, Iranian, does not appear to be the source. Iranian loans in Armenian are largely nominal. Though a few Iranian reduplicated forms can be found in Armenian (Arm. *xalxal* 'silver ring, bracelet', NPer. *xalxāl*)[6], none are verbal.

Evidence for reduplication in the Hurro-Urartian group is not abundant, though it does exist. In one case (Vrouyr 1948.88) there is evidence for a reduplicated Urartian verb passing on into Armenian: Urart. *har-hars-* 'destroy', Arm. *xarxar-em* 'id'. In spite of this tantalizing correspondence, our Hurro-Urartian corpus is too small to use effectively. Similarly, evidence for reduplication in the South Caucasian languages, though abundant (Holisky 1980.101-103)[7], cannot be shown to have a significant effect on early Armenian[8].

There is, however, one substratum area where there is abundant evidence not only for reduplication itself, but also for its transference of reduplicated patterns directly into Armenian. Hittite reduplicated patterns appearing in Armenian were first noted by Ghapantsyan (1956.363 [quoted also in Schultheisss 1961.225]) who pointed out the parallel Hitt. *hul-hul-iya-* 'fight, struggle', Arm. *xoɬxoɬ-em* 'slaughter, massacre'. More recently Nerses Mkrtchyan has written a paper wholly devoted to reduplicated Hittite verbs which appear in Armenian (1976). Though not all his suggestions are acceptable, some etymologies seem hard to refute: Hitt. *kurkur-ai-* 'maim, mutilate', Arm. *k^crk^cr-em* 'destroy', Hitt. *galgal-ināi-* 'to make a musical sound', Arm. *gelgel-ank^c* 'a trill'; possibly Hitt. *kuskus-* 'to pound or bruise', Arm. *koškoč* (with dissimilation) 'ruined, destroyed'; Hitt. *zahh-iya-* 'fight against, attack', Arm. *ǰaxǰax-em* 'to totally break up, crush, destroy'. This list in itself is evidence for a reasonable density of reduplicated Hittite verbs in Armenian. And it conforms to the intensely abundant reduplication that exists in Hittite. We might note those reduplicated Hittite words in *l-* that are listed in Hoffner (1980): *lahlahhiya, lahlahhima, lahhilahheskim, lahlahhinu, lahlahheskinu, lala, laplipa, laplapa, laplapi, lilai, lili, lulai, luli, luluwai, lulluri, lulu(t)*.

Summary: The Indo-European reduplicated verb class was not continued in Armenian; not only did it cease to be productive, but verbs which we must assume were inherited from Indo-European into Proto-Armenian had their reduplication remitted.[9] Yet the pattern is clearly alive in the earliest period of Armenian literature, and continues, with increased activity, up to this present day. The class would include verbs that might be called 'expressive' (and which would be largely neologistic) and verbs that cannot be organized according to a particular semantic pattern. It seems likely that the reduplicated class was regenerated in the pre-literate period, and that this regeneration must have come about through the influence of a language group neighboring the proto-Armenians. Of those ancient Anatolian cultures which are known to have influenced the proto-Armenians, both the Hittito-Luwian group and the Hurro-Urartian group show evidence for reduplicating patterns. However, the evidence for reduplication is most strong in the Hittito-Luwian group, and it is from this group that we have the most evidence for reduplicated words actually being loaned into Armenian. It appears likely that reduplication was reintroduced into Armenian through the influence of Hittito-Luwian.

FOOTNOTES

¹ This paper will not take into consideration Arm. *arari* 'I made', the aorist of *aṙnem* 'do, make', which is patterned directly after Gk. ἀραρίσκω aor. ἤραρον 'to fit, prepare'.

² It might be interesting to sample the bulky list that Abeghyan provides us: *čvčval, cvcval, gvgval, svsval, xšxšal, t^cšt^cšal, všvšal xzxzal, črčral, mrmral, krkral, gorgoral, klklal, klklal, dndnal, p^csp^csal*. Abrahamyan's list (1962.150-151) is much larger; one might note such typical examples as *fsfsal* 'to hiss (of snakes)' and *frfral* 'to flash on and off', both clearly late additives to the Armenian vocabulary.

³ Other comment can be found in Sevak 1947.66-67, 72-73 and Murvalyan 1955.147-162.

⁴ This detritus has been left to us by such writers as Bugge (1890), Lagarde (1877), Lidén (1906), Petersson (1916, 1920) and Scheftelowitz (1902, 1905).

⁵ If Arm. *dadar* were continuing an s desiderative, it would appear as **dadaṙ*, with trilled ṙ.

⁶ This loan must be fairly late into Armenian since a transfer from the Parthian period would appear in the shape **xaɫxaɫ*. Another reduplicated word of Iranian origin, *vaṙvaṙim* 'be on fire' < *vaṙem* 'to flame up' must have been independently reduplicated within Armenian.

⁷ Holisky lists many examples, all from the Georgian *sisineb-* class, which she calls 'expressive' verbs: *bubunebs* 'roar, gurgle', *buqbuqebs* 'murmur, gurgle', *guzguzebs* 'thunder', *ḳivḳivebs* 'gobble', *liḳliḳebs* 'to murmur (of a brook)', *zivzivebs* 'to twitter (of birds)', etc.

⁸ Djahukian (1978.211-223) surveys briefly the inter-influence of the Indigenous Caucasian languages and Armenian. It is his view that the proto-Armenians arrived in the sub-Caucasus only by the fifth century BC, after they had moved north from Cilicia and occupied the area of the displaced Urartians.

⁹ In view of the closeness of proto-Greek and Proto-Armenian, we would at least expect such common reduplicated patterns as γίγνομαι, δίδωμι and τίθημι to appear similarly in Armenian. That they do not suggests further that reduplication has been removed in Armenian. This is part and parcel of the almost complete morphological remodeling that Armenian has undergone.

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Arm. am 'year'

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I have pointed out, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 66, 1961, 26, that the Indo-European etymon represented by Eng. *Summer*, both on grounds of its *a*-stem forms and of its *-m̥-*, must have contained a laryngeal and in all likelihood an a-colouring one. I reconstructed **smaA*, gen. **smA-ós.*

It has been insufficiently noticed that our best evidence for this aspect of the etymon comes from Armenian. The noun am is of course an -a- stem. Therefore the pre-Armenian shape is **(s)ma-*.

This however leads us ambiguously to two possible preforms. If we derive **(s)ma-* from **sm̥ə-*, the latter is best regarded as a levelled stem from a base **smH-*, i.e. **sm̥H-V-* ~**smH̥-C*. Thus we would have **smH-ós*, but **smH-bh-* > **smə-bh-* → **sm̥ə-bh-* > *amaw*. In that case we cannot tell what colouring of laryngeal we must reconstruct, unless more evidence can be brought to bear.

If however we derive **(s)ma-* from **smHao-*, the most reasonable morphological ancestor then becomes the thematic formation **sm̥* the form-class is then at bottom the same as that of mard, ji, and ǰerm. In this case the laryngeal must have been a-colouring.

Armenian k'ez

The dative *k'ez* (and from it the accusative-locative *k'ez* instead of **k'es*) is conventionally explained as having z as the intervocalic output of the same consonant as we find in   *inǰ* 'mihi'; see Meillet

Esquisse2 92§59. The usual reconstruction of *inj* as *em-ǵhi* (Meillet *Introduction* p. 335) seems perfectly reasonable.

I have recently (Papers from the Parasession on Pronouns and Anaphora, Chicago Linguistic Society, 1980) analyzed IE *Hₒme-ǵhi* (Skt. *máhyam*, OLat. *mihei*, Umbr. *mehe*) and *te-bhi* (Gāth. *taibyā̆*, O Pruss. *tebbei*, Slavic *tebé*, Umbr. *tefe*) as containing old deictics correlated with the speech situation and pronominal reference according to Benveniste's well known formulation. Therefore *Hₑme-ǵhi* (> *Hₑm-ǵhi* > *inj*) meant *me-here' ≠ 'thee-there'. Now in that case there would seem at first glance to be an anomaly or contradiction in reshaping *te-bhi* to *tue-ǵhi* > *kʻez*. The purpose of this note is to make clear that no such contradiction is entailed.

We note that the oblique cases of the Classical Armenian personal pronouns are inflected fully and relatively regularly, the singular personals showing the stems *im-/in-* and *kʻe-*. Thus the termination *-j* < *ǵhi* was easily interpreted as 'dative' once it was embedded in the paradigm. Now Armenian is the only IE language to have generalized the ending *-bhi* as the specific instrumental marker, including the personals in this inflexional paradigm. Thus as soon as   *inew* etc. was generated *te-bhi* > *tue-bhi* > *kʻew* was immediately interpreted as 'instrumental'; in fact, *inew* seems to be modelled on *kʻew*. And so the old deixis of *tue-bhi* was forgotten, and a new dative *tue-ǵhi* was possible.

Hittite *arāi-* and Armenian *y-areay*

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The Hittite verb *arāi-* 'arise, rise (up)' shows both *mi-* and *ḫi-*conjugation forms. The latter are clearly older: it is significant that while both 3 sg. *arāi* (*ḫi*-conj.) and *arāizzi* (*mi*-conj.) are found in the present, the 3 sg. preterite is exclusively *arāiš*, a form attested from the very beginning of the Hittite tradition.[1] Outside the 3 sg. the only diagnostic form quotable is the hapax 1 sg. pres. *ariḫḫi* (KBo XII 103 I 9); taken together, *arāiš* and *ariḫḫi* virtually guarantee that *arāi-* originally belonged to the same inflectional type as *dāi-* 'put' (1 sg. *teḫḫi* < *daiḫḫe*, 3 sg. *dāi*, 3 pl. *tiyanzi*) or *nāi-* 'lead, direct' (1 sg. *neḫḫi*, 3 sg. *nāi*, 3 pl. *neyanzi*). The "weak" stem-form *arā-*, attested, e.g., in the infinitive *arawanzi* and the verbal noun *arāwar*, is an evident innovation for **ariya-* (or **areya-*); a historical interpretation of this replacement will be suggested below.

Although many investigators have assumed that *arāi-* is closely connected in both root and stem-formation with Lat. *oritur* 'rises', it is not at all obvious that this supposition is warranted. The Latin verb is a *i̯e/o*-present of the root **(h₁)er-* 'move, go, rise' or, according to some, of **h₃er-* 'rise'; its most obvious relatives are Gk. ὄρνυσι 'stirs up, excites', aor. mid. ὦρτο, and Toch. A *ar-*, B *er-* 'call forth, arouse' (cf. B subj. 3 sg. *ertär*).[2] Hitt. *arāi-*, on the other hand, is not a *i̯e/o*-present at all — for this we should have expected **ariya-*, as in the nearly synonymous *parkiya-* 'go up' (< **bhr̥ĝh-i̯e/o-*) — but an athematic diphthongal stem of a type whose IE origins have been much debated in recent years.[3] What little is known for certain about this class (=Friedrich's class II 2 d) argues strongly against a direct equa-

tion of *arāi-* and *oritur*: of the more than half-dozen verbs with good etymologies that belong here, one (*nāi-* < *$neih_x$-) is based on a diphthongal *seṭ* root, while the others (e.g., *dāi-* < *$dheh_1$-*, *māi-* 'prosper' < *meh_1-*, *išpāi-* 'be sated' < *$speh_1$-*) are derived from roots in *-eh_1-.[4] Purely structural considerations, therefore, would favor a root-form of the type *$(h_x)reih_x$- or *$(h_x)reh_1$-, rather than *$(h_x)er$-, as the source of *arāi-*.

Both *arāi-* and *oritur* have been compared further with Arm. *y-arnem* 'I stand up, arise, the aorist *(y-areay)* and irregular imperative (2 sg. *ari*, pl. *arik'*) of which have been widely held to furnish evidence for a *i̯e/o*-present.[5] This too, however, is unlikely. Since the group *-ri- regularly yielded *-rj-* in Armenian (cf. *sterj* 'barren' <*sterio-*) a direct comparison of *y-areay* with *oritur* would first necessitate the assumption that *$(h_x)r̥$-*i̯e/o*- was remodeled to a pre-Armenian present in *-i̯e/o-*. In principle, this could have happened in either of two ways. Probably the simpler course would be to suppose that, as in Indo-Iranian, the sequence *-r̥i̯- was resyllabified to *-ri(i̯)- (cf. Ved. *mriyáte* 'dies' < *mr̥-i̯e/o-*); while there are no direct counterexamples to this development, however, the phonological history of *anurǰ* 'dream' (< *anōrii̯o-*) suggests that the regular reflex of the resulting *$(h_x)r$-ii̯e/o*- would have been *arǰe-* rather than *arii̯e-*. Nor, even granting the admissibility of a stage *arii̯e-*, is it clear how such a stem could have yielded *(y-)areay*. It could, of course, be assumed that, like the inherited presents *bhere/o-* (cf. aor. *beri*, 3 sg. *eber* 'carried') and *leiĝhe/o-* (cf. aor. *lizi*, 3 sg. *elēz* 'licked'), *arii̯e-* was displaced to the aorist system, where it was provided with deponent inflection and regularly remade to *arii̯a- (>*(y-)areay*). But there are no convincing parallel cases of *i̯e/o*-presents which have been reinterpreted as aorists in Armenian (the *-c-* of *anic* 'cursed' and *exac* 'laughed' is probably due to the influence of the presents *anicanem* and *xacanem* (< *$h_3$neid-i̯e/o-*, *khad-i̯e/o-*)); in particular, it should be noted that the remaining aorists in *-eay*, such as *erkeay* 'I feared' (pres. *erknč'im*) and *p'axeay* 'I fled' (pres. *p'axč'im*), are almost certainly of different origin.[6]

Alternatively, it might be argued from passive and deponent forms like *berim* 'I am carried' and *p'lanim* 'I fall' that there was a general renewal of *-i̯e/o-* to *-ii̯e/o-* in pre-Armenian, and that the initial outcome of the inherited stem *$(h_x)r̥$-i̯e/o*- was a deponent present *arim*. In this case, however, the subsequent transfer of *arim* to the aorist system should have entailed the *replacement* of *-i-* by its aoristic counterpart *-a- (> *(y-)aray*), rather than the mechanical

addition of *-a- to the unanalyzable present stem *ari-   (>(y-)areay).
It is surely relevant that the aorist corresponding to *berim* is *beray*
and not *bereay.*[7]

A note of caution should also be sounded concerning the im-
peratives *ari* and *arik'*. These forms are clearly archaic, being derived
neither from the present *y-aŕnem* nor the aorist *y-areay*. Phonologi-
cally, of course, there can be no doubt that *(h_x)r-ije* would have
yielded Arm. *ari*. But since it is highly unlikely that Proto-Indo-Eu-
ropean would have used a present imperative to express the punctual
command 'rise! stand up!', a derivation of *ari* from *(h_x)r-ije* would,
as in the argument above, imply that at some stage in the prehistory
of Armenian the present stem *ari-, not yet obligatorily provided with
a preverb, was used with aoristic value. This assumption, as we have
seen, is fraught with difficulties.

Although neither Hitt. *arai-* nor Arm. *y-areay*, *ari(k')* can be
equated with Lat. *oritur*, it is by no means excluded that they are re-
lated to each other. The Hittite verb presupposes a root *(h_x)reh₁- or
*(h_x)reih$_x$-; once the illusory comparison with Latin is abandoned, it
is easy to see that *(h_x)reih$_x$- will also elegantly account for the Ar-
menian forms. Perhaps the simplest point of departure would be to
assume a root aorist 3 sg. *(h_x)reih$_x$-t, pl. *(h_x)rih$_x$ént; the corre-
sponding middle inflection *(h_x)rih$_x$-to, *-nto would then furnish an
obvious prototype for *y-areay* and its paradigm (cf. note 6 above),
while the present *y-aŕnem* < *y-arinem* could be referred to an in-
herited nasal present *(h_x)ri-n(e)-h$_x$- (cf. the Vedic pattern aor. mid.
3 sg. *ayukta* 'yoked', pres. act. *yunakti*). Alternatively, it might be con-
jectured that *-eya- was regularly contracted to *-ea-* in Armenian, and
that *y-areay* continues an athematic imperfect *(h_x)reih$_x$-to, *-nto.
This analysis would have the advantage of permitting a direct equa-
tion between the Hittite and Armenian forms: the relationship be-
tween *(h_x)reih$_x$-to (> Arm. 3 sg. *(y-)areaw*) and Hitt. *arai* would ex-
actly duplicate that between Hitt. 3 sg. mid. pret. *neyatta(t)* (<*neih$_x$-)
and 3 sg. pres. *nāi*ᵉ. Under either theory, *arāi-* itself would have to
reflect an apophonic present *(h_x)roih$_x$-/*(h_x)rih$_x$-, parallel to the
*noih$_x$-/*neih$_x$-which underlies 3 sg. *nāi* (< *noih$_x$-ei), pl. *neyanzi*
(< *neih$_x$-nti).[9] Such a present would theoretically have yielded an
inflection *arāi*, *ariyanzi* (< *-eyanzi); to account for the attested
weak stem *arǎ-* we would have to postulate an early loss of ablaut,
accompanied by the substitution of *aray- (< *(h_x)roih$_x$-) for *ariy-
throughout the paradigm. (Note that the *mi*-conjugation 3 sg. *araizzi*
could then be taken as a back-formation from the plural *aranzi*

(<*arayanzi), in imitation of the pattern hatraizzi 'writes', pl. ha-tranzi.) The existence of the independent verb ariya- 'determine by oracle' would presumably have played a catalytic role in the elimination of the inherited weak forms.

The imperatives ari and arik' can also be explained as derivatives of $*(h_x)reih_x$-. They are best taken, in my view, from preforms $*(h_x)rih_x$-e and $*(h_x)rih_x$-e-te(s), imperatives corresponding to a thematic aorist or to an oxytone thematic present of the "tudati"-type. Such a derivation would accord well with the inherent aoristic value of the Armenian forms. Although a stem $*(h_x)rih_x$-e/o- is not otherwise attested, it is significant that the tudati-presents of the Rigveda, which are well-attested beside medial root aorists, often show a marked predilection for the imperative; some, indeed, such as juṣa-'enjoy', mṛḷa- 'pardon' and kṛṣa- 'plow', are better attested in the imperative than in all the other moods combined. An especially interesting case is that of ava (vi) sia- (sya-) 'unbind', which occurs in fifteen finite forms: of these, two are indicatives (in books I and X) and the remaining thirteen are imperatives. The stem sia- is ultimately from the same root as Hitt. išḫai, išḫiyanzi 'bind' (< $*sh_2eh_1$ -i- ?), to which it stands in much the same relationship as $*(h_x)rih_x$-e/o- to arai-.[10]

It is very probable that the Hittite and Armenian verbs are connected with the family of Ved. riṇáti 'lets flow', Gk. 'ορίνει 'stirs up, rouses', Toch. A rinästär 'releases', Go. rinnan 'flow, run' (cf. urrinnan 'rise'; the preterite (ur)rann is analogical) and OCS -rinǫti 'push' (with secondary ri- for *rg-; cf. also rinǫti sę 'fall, drop'), all of which point to a nasal present ultimately equatable with (y-)arnem. The basic meaning of the stem $*(h_x)ri$-n(e)-h_x- would presumably have been 'let move, set in motion', whence also 'cause to flow'; the intransitive value of the Germanic and Armenian forms was probably originally proper only to the middle, which was doubtless formed from a different stem in the parent language.[11] NE rise and its Germanic cognates (Go. urreisan, OE OS rísan, OHG rísan, the last meaning both 'climb' and 'fall') are no doubt derived from an s-extended version of the same root. Unfortunately, a phonologically unambiguous reconstruction is not possible. The root-final laryngeal of $*(h_x)reih_x$- may be specified as either $*h_1$ or $*h_3$, both of which would regularly have disappeared postvocalically in Hittite. At the beginning of the root the presence of a laryngeal is strongly suggested by Arm. ar- (rather than *er-);[12] it would be rash, however, to identify this as $*h_3$ on the strength of Gk. ὀρίνει, which could easily have been influenced by

the nearly synonymous verb ὄρνυσι.

Despite these uncertainties, the most immediate consequences of our etymology are phonological. It is well-known that there is no initial *r- in Hittite, but direct evidence for the Anatolian treatment of IE *r- or *h_xr- has up to now been wanting. The equation of arāi- and·y-areay̓ makes good this deficiency: it shows that at least under certain circumstances the same inherited sequences which yielded initial *r- in the majority of the other IE languages yielded r preceded by a prothetic a- in Hittite.[13] A more precise formulation must await the discovery of further comparative evidence.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The Old Hittite Anittas text has both a-ra-iš (old ductus) and a-ra-a-i[š]; alternative spellings, and the forms of arāi- generally, are discussed by Neu, StBoT 18, 89-90.

[2]These forms display unambiguous o-vocalism; that the root was probably *$h_1$er- rather than *$h_3$er-, however, is shown by the Hesychian gloss ἔρετο · ὡρμήθη. Likely further cognates thus include Ved. r̥ṇóti 'rushes, goes' (aor. arta = ωρτο), Hitt. ari 'arrives, is brought' and (with a velar extension Gk. ἔρχεται 'comes'. A summary of the etymological literature on arāi- is given by Tischler, Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar 52.

[3]Representative recent theories may be found in the volume Hethitisch und Indogermanisch, edited by W. Meid and E. Neu (= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 25). See especially the contributions by Cowgill (p. 34), Kuryłowicz (p. 146) and Lindeman (pp. 153-7); my own views are presented on pp. 88-9. An important earlier article is Risch, Corolla Linguistica 189-98.

[4]It is immaterial in the present context whether the -i- of dāi- is regarded as an independent morpheme or as a phonological reflex of *h_1 (Risch's view; see note 3).

Given the number and frequency of Hittite verbs in -iya-, the theoretical possibility that 3 sg. arāi represents a back-formation from 3 pl. *ariyanzi or 3 sg. mid. *ariya(tta)ri (= oritur) cannot be taken very seriously.

[5]This is the view, e.g., of Meillet, Esquisse 115 and Watkins, Idg. Gram. III.1, 75; it is also accepted in my unpublished Harvard dissertation, Studies in the Historical Morphology of the Hittite Verb (1968).

[6]Thus erkeay itself is quite clearly based on an old imperfect *du̯istó, *-n̥tó (cf. Ved. dvéṣṭi 'hates'); the immediate predecessor of 3 sg. erkeaw is probably to be set up as *du̯isato, with -a- generalized from the 3 pl. in *-anto < *-n̥to (G. Klingenschmitt, personal communication). Similarly, caneay (pres. čanač'em 'I recognize') is apparently based on an imperfect in 3 pl. *-ēsn̥to (or *-ēsn̥t ?); the sigmatic stem may be compared with that of Hitt. ganešzi 'finds' and Toch. A 2 sg. knasäst (< knā- 'know').

While the remaining cases are necessarily more obscure, I know of no reason why presents like p'axč'im or zart͓num (aor. zart'eay) 'I awake' should not be regarded as extensions of stems in *-i- < *-ē- (cf. the Latin type in -ēscō) with middle s-aorists in *ēsto, *-ēsnto. See Godel. An Introduction to the Study of Classical Armenian 5.351 for a similar view; otherwise Meillet, loc. cit.

[7]Note that the regular reflex of the inherited root aorist *orto (cf. Gk. ᾦρτο) would also have been an aorist in -ay. It is instructive to compare the treatment of the parallel root *mer-'die' (: Lat. morior), the aorist of which is meṙay, 3 pl. meṙan < *meranto < *mérṇto.

[8]The -a- of y-areay could then be taken as a laryngeal reflex; compare keam 'I live' < *gʷih₃i - < *gʷih₃- (Gk. fut. (< subj.) βέομαι). It is also thinkable that y-areay continues a sigmatic aorist *(h₂)r(ē)ih₃-s-to, *-ṇto.

[9]In Hethitisch und Indogermanisch 79-90 (see note 3) I have taken the position that the ḫi-conjugation continues a special IE present type and not, as ordinarily assumed, the IE perfect. This view is not essential to the present argument. The relationship of Hitt. arai to Arm. (y-)arnem recalls that of Hitt. mall(a)i 'grinds' to Ved. mṛnáti (impv. 2 sg. mṛnīhí) 'crushes'.

[10]Since the preparation of this paper, my attention has been called to KUB II 3 II 28-31, which reads LÚ.MESALAN.ZUₓ lu-ú-li-ya-az a-ri-ya-an-[z]i ša-wa-tar-ra III-ŠU pa-ri-ya-an-zi ta-aš-ta pa-a-an-zi "the performers rise from the vat, blow the horn(s) three times and go off." The text is a late copy of an Old Hittite original (cf. CHD 3.1, p. 81); unless appearances are deceptive, the form ariyanzi is the historically regular 3 pl. of arai-, and shows that the original weak stem ari(ya)- survived into the historical period.

[11]The parallel stems chyá- (< chā- 'cut up') and dyá- (< dā- 'divide') are likewise obligatorily associated with preverbs and disproportionately well-attested as imperatives in their earliest (post-Rigvedic) occurrences. The Attic inscriptional imperative πιι 'drink!'(from the metathesized zero-grade *pih₃-) is perhaps a similar form in Greek.
A derivation of ari(k') from a root in *-ei- was suggested already by P. Persson, Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung 769.

[12]This, at any rate, is suggested by such pairs as Ved. act. punati 'purifies' : mid. pávate, act. ramṇati 'brings to rest' : mid. rámate. In the case of the root *(h₂)reih₂-, it is tempting to speculate that the structural position of the middle forms was originally occupied by the ancestor of the Hittite ḫi-verb.

[13]The view that IE *r- yielded er-, but that *h₂r- yielded ar- in Armenian has been persuasively argued in an unpublished paper by M. Peters.

[14]Other examples of this treatment, none to my mind convincing, are given by J. Tischler, KZ 86, 267-86 (1972).

Semantics in Language Comparison[1]:
Two Cases from Armenian

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The recently reawakened interest in the Humboldt-Whorf-hypothesis (cf. e.g. PINXTEN 1976) gives a counterpoint to universalistic approaches of the CHOMSKYan kind. In descriptive semantics, this dichotomy is still controversial: linguistic universality vs. linguistic relativity.

The sources of this problem go back to the mid nineteenth century, when W. VON HUMBOLDT developed his hypothesis on inner form of languages (HUMBOLDT 1969, 463ff.). Quite a similar view is supported by American ethnolinguists, notably among whom are E. SAPIR and B.L. WHORF, whose descriptivistic pessimism developed from the painstaking work with Amerindian languages, which often show, in their semantic organization of experience, little resemblance to the Indo-European languages.

This American current and its European, or, to be more precise, its German analogue (developed mainly by J. TRIER, L. WEISGERBER, and their followers) end up in what may be called the hypothesis of linguistic relativity, which in its WHORFian form can be formulated in the words of S. CHASE: 'that the structure of the language one habitually uses influences the manner in which one understands his environment. The picture of the universe shifts from tongue to tongue' (CARROLL 1956, vi).

It appears quite obvious that on the background of the relativity hypothesis the establishment of universal semantic categories seems

to be impossible. And by this conclusion we are forced to admit that the task of linguistic semantics is but to develop language-specific descriptions, which, for a large part, have to be made with the aid of ad hoc categories; thus a semantic typology on languages that belong to different cultural settings would prove to be impossible.

A way out of this dead end is indicated by the Georgian scholar G. RAMIŠVILI who (in RAMIŠVILI 1978)[2] discusses along the principal lines of HUMBOLDTian thoughts the question of the relationship between universalism and relativity.

To exemplify the relevance of the problem I have chosen two cases from Armenian which I shall discuss in relation to the question of semantic comparison and inner form.

The first case presents a difficulty that can best be detected by the comparison of the Armenian data with other languages: it is the meaning of the lexical items t'anjr, hast, and xosor, which roughly correspond to Eng. thick, Ger. dick, Fr. epais, etc.

This would lead us to the conclusion that English, German, and French have one unitary concept where Armenian shows three, or, the other way round, that the former languages have at their disposal, to put it cautiously, more than one concept with homophonous phonic representations. A more detailed comparison will give some clues for the analysis.

In the following list the occurrences of the Armenian items are given with the German and Georgian (= Geo.) correspondences.

Armenian		Georgian	German
t'anjr kat'	'milk'	skeli rdze	dicke Milch
t'anjr mšuš	'mist'	skeli nisli	dicker Nebel
t'anjr cux	'smoke'	skeli ķvamli	dicker Rauch
t'anjr šert	'layer'	skeli pena	dicke Schicht
hast taxtak	'board'	skeli picari	dickes Brett
hast xołovak	'tube'	msxvili mili	dickes Rohr
hast t'ułt'	'paper'	skeli kaǧaldi	dickes Papier
hast t'el	'thread'	msxvili dzapi	dicker Faden
xošor hatik	'grain'	msxvili marcvali	dickes Korn
xošor kat'il	'drop'	msxvili çveti	dicker Tropfen
xošor p'at'il	'snow-flake'	msxvili pipki	dicke Schneeflocke

As to the Russian equivalents it can be stated that they show the same differentiation as Arm. with *gustoj*, *tolstyj* and *krupnyj* respectively.

If we take the above list as a point of departure, where the lexical entries are classified according to their valence-partners (as I should like to call the nouns they occur with), we can give a characterization of the concepts of *t'anjr*, *hast*, and *xošor* in terms of semantic markers which belong to a kind of universal semantic alphabet, just like M. BIERWISCH proposed to do (BIERWISCH 1967) on the occasion of a discussion of the spatial adjectives of German. But what are these concepts and how can they be characterized?

BIERWISCH founded his analysis on a set of quite heterogeneous markers such as [polarity], [space], and a rather unclear feature [main dimensions] vs. [subsidiary dimensions] etc., so that one characterization of Ger. dick 'thick' is that in (1), where features are abbreviated as [pol(arity)] and [main (dimension)]. [n space] means 'one, two, or three dimensions' and the writing convention X[Y[*]] means that 'if Y is an element of a given dependency tree, then by the rule (. . .) X[Y[*]] the element X is introduced as a direct (right) dependent of Y' (BIERWISCH 1967, 26).

(1)   dick$_1$ (+Pol) [(n Space) [(-Main)[*]]]

This analysis takes account of the case of Arm. *hast*, Russ. *tolstyj*, and Ger. *dick$_1$*.

A second meaning of 'thick' is expressed by (2), where in an ad hoc manner a characterization is developed, which beyond the 'polarity' criterion shows no common feature with (1).

(2)   dick$_2$ (+Pol) [(+Consistence) [(+Density)[*]]][3]

The meaning of (2) seems to be that of *t'anjr*, which goes well with *kat'*, *mšuš*, *cux*, *šert*, and possibly with *varaguyr* 'curtain', less directly and probably better through a metaphorical derivation with *xavar* 'darkness', where the Russian equivalent also shows *gustoj*, but German has *tiefe Dunkelheit*, never **dicke Dunkelheit*.

As to *xošor*, it seems to be restricted to objects like *hatik* 'grain', *kat'il* 'drop', or *p'at'il* 'snow-flake' and then to be extended metaphorically to items like *kalvacater* 'estate owner' or *k'ayl* 'walk, pace'. Its meaning thus comes close to that of *hast*, which is expressed by the fact that beside *xošor p'or* 'large stomach' we find the compound *has-*

tap'or Russ. 'tolstobrjuxyj', and we have *hastaglux* together with *xos-oraglux* 'stubborn'.

As to the Georgian equivalents, we can state a somewhat different organization of this part of the lexical field. To *t'anjr* we find a regular correspondence with Geo. *skeli*, but *skeli* covers part of the meaning of Arm. *hast*, too. The remainder of *hast* corresponds to Geo. *msxvili*, as does all of the *xošor* data.

RAMIŠVILI's analysis of Geo. *msxvili* and *skeli* is the following (RAMIŠVILI 1978, 193ff.): *skeli* is used with liquids and flat solid objects, while *msxvili* occurs with round or oval-shaped bodies with an oblong shape which includes parts of liquids of a comparable shape. So we find *msxvili* with 'grain', 'drop', 'tube', and 'thread', *skeli* on the other hand with 'milk', 'fog', 'smoke', 'board', 'paper'.

The characterization given by RAMIŠVILI is far from being homogeneous, as compared with BIERWISCH's analysis of Ger. *dick*$_1$ and *dick*$_2$, which would be mirrored by Geo. *skeli*$_1$ and *skeli*$_2$. In addition, a methodological problem arises with regard to the question of the correlates of semantic markers.

RAMIŠVILI's analysis defines the meaning of the Georgian items by enumerating properties of their valence-partners, by which process we don't get a clear idea about the meaning of the items in question, but only about the latter's selection-restrictions. Although this is an important step in the course of the analysis, it must not be the final one. What we aim at, is a description of the concept that is expressed by the items themselves.

It appears a possible way of approaching such concepts   to construct elements for an *etalon*-language or *interlingua* (B. USPEN-SKIJ's *jazyk etalon*, cf. USPENSKIJ 1965, 58ff.) that serves as a *tertium comparationis* between each pair of languages. A semantic typology with a wider range of languages then implies a unification of several *etalon*-languages so as to provide a fixed set of terms, i.e. a fixed set of concepts, and a set of rules which determine the translation of a given language into the *etalon*-language and vice-versa.

For our Armenian-Georgian problem the next step is to find elementary concepts which can serve as *interlingua*-terms. One proposal, developed for the Ger. *dick/dunn* dichotomy, has been made by H. WEYDT (1972), where BIERWISCH is criticized for his analysis of two *dick* in German.

BIERWISCH on his part had given, quite tentatively, his impression that the meanings of *dick*$_1$ and *dick*$_2$ are, as he puts it, 'obviously related somehow' (BIERWISCH 1967, 33). Now WEYDT pro-

posed a concept of *dick* that was defined as having a difficulté à pénétrer' (WEYDT 1972, 63). This penetration-criterion is, however, at least in cases like 'thick drop' not plausible in any sense of the word.

I propose instead a marker [+massiness] which characterizes a term subject to polarity, but, in contrast with BIERWISCH's analysis, it is not specified with regard to dimensions. Only language specifically is further marking introduced. So Geo. *msxvili* gets the marker [+diameter] to account for the round and oval-shaped, oblong valence-partners, whilst *skeli* gets [-diameter], expressing the fact that any positively specified polarity of massiness (which does not involve a 'massy' diameter) is encoded by *skeli*.

The Armenian items all have the same conceptual base in the marker [massiness], and show their specifications again, like the Georgian items, in the properties of their valence-partners. For *t'anjr* we find a restriction on liquid and gaseous bodies, for *hast* on solid bodies except bodies of a roundish shape, where *xošor* occurs.

Another important fact must not be overlooked: the three Armenian items are in complementary distribution (as well as the two Georgian ones), i.e. there is no *t'anjr taxtak*, or *hast kat'* or the like, so we can, for cogent reasons, regard the three forms as alloforms (though not allomorphs, of course) which are realizations of that one concept that we label [massiness]. Then, the German, English, and French items that cover the whole range of objects can be looked upon as expressions of this fundamental concept.

One final remark about translatability. As the *interlingua* is the point where not only concepts meet but also the language-specific selectional restrictions have to be accounted for, it can easily be seen that the lexical entries of the *interlingua* are not intersections, but joins of sets of language-specific entries. Thus, also the properties of the valence-partners have to be considered, for only when the diameter-specification of a given noun in the context of *hast* is known, can we determine whether to translate it with Geo. *skeli* or *msxvili* respectively.

The second case is that of the verbs for 'to bite' and 'to sting' which in Eastern (= E) Arm. are *kcel* and *xayt'el*, and in Western (= W) Arm. *xacnel* and *xayt'el*, while in Classical Armenian there are several verbs which are difficult to categorize for valence-partners; so you find with *oj* 'snake' *xacanem, xayt'em, harkanem* and *kcec'uc'anem*, which all correspond in these contexts to Greek *dakno*, semantically ambiguous in itself, meaning 'to bite' and 'to sting'.

As a point of departure here, I take the activity performed by a dog when causing someone an injury. The following list gives the verbs used to denote this activity with 'dog', 'bee', 'mosquito', and 'snake' as agents, in different languages.

valence-partner	WArm.	EArm	Russ.	Eng.	Ger.	Geo.
'dog'	xacnel	kcel	kusat'	bite	beißen	kbena
'bee'	xayt'el	xayt'el	žalit'	sting	stechen	kbena
'mosquito'	xayt'el	kcel	kusat'	bite	stechen	kbena
'snake'	xayt'el	kcel	žalit	bite	beißen	kbena

The underlying bio-physical activities are in principle easy to describe: dogs and snakes use their teeth, bees a sting, and mosquitos a proboscis. So we could follow the German differentiation of *beissen* for the teeth-activity and *stechen* for sting and proboscis-activities. But how can we account for the fact that in EArm. and Russian as in English mosquitos bite without teeth and that in WArm. and Russ. the snakes sting without a sting?

In the latter case it seems to be a matter of discrepancy between scientific knowledge and language use, as we can see from the Russian word for 'sting', *zalo*, which at the same time is for the tongue of the snake; the tongue is erroneously taken for a sting. I know of no plausible way to give a characterization of this distribution in terms of reference to physical properties. Marking can be made only by assigning diacritic features to each lexical entry in question.

The WArmenian and Russian cases prevent us from making a difference between activities carried out with the aid of the forepart of the body as against those carried out with the posterior part of the body. Nevertheless, we can find a tentative entry to the *interlingua* with the help of ROGET's Thesaurus (ROGET 1953, 119), where the verbs *to sting* and *to bite* are listed under the heading '*sensation*' with the feature '*physical pain*' that in our case should be specified by a paraphrase like '*causing physical pain with solid parts of one of the ends of a body*', a tentative formulation only, which should undergo further refinement.

In some cases, as in EArmenian, English, and German, we can give such refinements by determining an opposition '*foremost end of the body*' vs. '*back end of the body*' for EArmenian and English, and '*with teeth*' vs. '*with other solid parts of the ends of a body*' for

German, while Georgian, fitting the paraphrase given in the preceding paragraph, receives no further specification. WArmenian and Russian, however, display no rationale for the correlation of these activities with their valence-partners.

It is these latter cases that I should like to regard as instances of the so-called *inner form of language*, as they can be described in an *ad hoc* manner only.

So the two cases mentioned each display a possibility of accounting for interlingual diversification of lexical fields. The first case, of Arm. *t'anjr, hast, xošor*, shows that the language-specific subdivision can be described in general terms, while the second case, *kcel, xacnel, xayt'el*, did not offer a possibility of such a description.

RAMIŠVILI's rejection of both absolute relativism and absolute universalism (RAMIŠVILI 1978, 192ff., and 219 in Russ.) can be corroborated by means of the results of the present paper.

Thus the consequences of using the concept of *inner form* or *linguistic relativity* in constructing *etalon*-languages, which are necessary for a semantic comparison, can be seen more clearly, namely that the notion of *inner form* should be restricted to those cases, where for the language under consideration no general rule of transformation, or: translation, into the *etalon*-language can be given. Otherwise we have to do, as in our first Arm. example, with a quite trivial case of diversification, the way it can be observed on the phonemic level, too, where oppositions are language-specifically determined, although they can be described in terms of the universal set of phonetic features.

FOOTNOTES

[1] An earlier version of this paper was read at the First International Conference on Armenian Linguistics, held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 11-14, 1979. I wish to thank Prof. K.H. Schmidt (Bonn), who suggested this topic to me and supplied me with literature otherwise inaccessible to me. Thanks are due also to M. Dabag (Bochum) and Dr. R. Mirzaian (Herne) for assistance as native speakers.

[2] A review by K.H. Schmidt of this excellent book has appeared in *Kratylos* 23, 1978 (1979), 169f.

[3] Both (1) and (2) are taken from BIERWISCH 1967, 33.

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On the Armenian Personal Endings

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Elsewhere I have argued that the Indo-European proto-language had totally different sets of endings in the thematic and the athematic flexion of the active present (1979a, 1979b) and made a fundamental distinction between transitive and intransitive middle paradigms (1981a, 1981b). In this article I intend to show the relevance of these findings for the explanation of the Armenian personal endings. I will limit the references to a minimum because a survey of earlier views can be found in Godel's handbook (1975) and Jasanoff's recent article on the subject (1979).

1. The PIE primary athematic endings have been preserved in the Armenian present tense:

1st sg. -m	<	*-mi	
2nd sg. -s	<	*-si	
3rd sg. -y	<	*-ti	
1st pl. -mk^c	<	*-mes	
2nd pl. -yk^c	<	*-te-s	
3rd pl. -n	<	*-nti	

The 2nd sg. ending -s represents the postconsonantal reflex of *-si. After a vowel, the *s was lost phonetically and restored analogically. The 3rd sg. ending -y and the 2nd pl. ending -yk^c contain the intervocalic reflex of *t before a front vowel. The 2nd pl. ending received an additional *-s on the analogy of the 1st pl. ending. In the present subjunctive, the personal endings are preceded by the suffix -ic^{c}e- < *-oi-ske- (Pedersen 1905: 207).

2. The PIE primary thematic endings are reflected in the aorist subjunctive:

1st sg. -ic^c	<	*-īsk-ṓ
2nd sg. -c^{c}es	<	*-īsk-e-si
3rd sg. -c^{c}ḗ	<	*-īsk-e-ti
1st pl. -c^{c}uk^c	<	*-īsk-omom-s
2nd pl. -ǰik^c		
3rd pl. -c^{c}en	<	*-īsk-e-nti

The original 2nd sg. ending *-ei merged with the reflex of *-esi as a result of the loss of intervocalic *s. When the *s was restored in *-nai < *-nāsi and *-nui < *-nusi, it was also introduced into the thematic paradigm. The original 3rd sg. ending *-e was enlarged with the athematic ending *-ti. The 3rd pl. ending is analogical.

The absence of m from the 1st pl. ending -c^{c}uk^c is striking. Following a suggestion by Schindler (cf. Jasanoff 1979: 136), I assume that *m was lost before *u in Proto-Armenian. This development was posterior to the raising of *o to *u before *m. Thus, the expected reflex of the 1st pl. ending is -u < *-umu < *-omom. It received an additional -k^c on the analogy of the athematic ending. The loss of *m in Arm. -c^{c}uk^c can now be adduced as additional evidence in support of the reconstruction *-omom for the primary 1st pl. ending of the PIE thematic flexion (cf. Kortlandt 1979a: 63f. and Beekes 1981).

3. The 2nd pl. ending -ǰik^c is found not only in the aorist subjunctive, but also in the middle aorist imperative, whence it spread to the active aorist and middle present imperatives. I do not share the usual view that this ending replaced the original aorist subjunctive ending (Meillet 1936: 121, Godel 1975: 46) because such a replacement would be unmotivated and destroy the regularity of the paradigm. The ending rather contains a precious archaism from the time before the generalization of the subjunctive suffix -c^c-. I think that -ǰik^c represents the middle optative ending *-ig < *-īdhwe, cf. Skt. -īdhvam. It survived because it was also used imperatively. The ending was enlarged with the personal pronoun *ǰuk^c (Meillet 1936: 92) or rather *yuk^c < *jūs, cf. Lith. jūs, Av. yūš. The latter development must be dated to the period between the apocope of *-e and the syncope of *-i-. The final part *-uk^c of the ending was eventually replaced with -ik^c on the basis of the regular 2nd pl. aorist ending. For the use of the enclitic pronoun after imperative forms cf. el du ἔξελθε Gen. 12.1, erkeruk^c duk^c φοβεῖσθε Mt. 10.28 (Jensen 1959: 102). The ending -ǰik^c gave rise to a 2nd sg. middle imperative ending -ǰir.

4. The expected reflexes of the PIE secondary active endings, which underlie the Arm. active aorist indicative forms, are the following:

1st sg. zero after a vowel and *-n after a consonant < *-m

2nd sg. *-k^c after a vowel and *-s after a consonant < *-s

3rd sg. zero < *-t

1st pl. *-m after a vowel and *-am after a consonant < *-me or *-mo

2nd pl. *-y after a vowel and zero after a consonant < *-te

3rd pl. *-n < *-nt

Moreover, the vowel of the stem-final syllable was apocopated in the 3rd sg. form, and in the thematic flexion also in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. forms and analogically in the 1st pl. form. The 2nd sg. form escaped the apocope because it adopted a middle ending (cf. below). The historically attested paradigms are the following:

1st sg.	ber-i	etu
2nd sg.	bere-r	etu-r
3rd sg.	eber < *ebheret	et < *edōt
1st pl.	ber-ak^c	tu-ak^c
2nd pl.	berē-k^c, ber-ik^c	etu-k^c
3rd pl.	ber-in	etu-n

The endings can be explained as follows.

The 1st sg. ending *-n < *-m after a consonant merged with the 3rd pl. ending -n < *-nt and was therefore eliminated. The thematic ending *-u < *-om merged with the corresponding primary ending *-u < *-ō and was probably extended to the athematic paradigm before the apocope. This development induced the spread of the primary athematic ending *-mi to the thematic present. The vowel of the stem-final syllable was *i in five types of aorist:

(a) root aorists in *-ē- and *-i-, e.g. edi < *edi-u < *e-dhē-.

(b) root aorists in *-m- and *-n-, e.g. eki < *ekim-u < *e-g^{w}em-.

(c) derived aorists in *-ē-, cf. Gr. ἐμάνην, Sl. mĭnĕxŭ.

(d) sigmatic aorists with *-ē- in the root, cf. Skt. ávākṣam, Sl. vĕsŭ.

(e) sigmatic aorists of derived stems in *-i-, cf. Sl. vozixŭ. When the vowel of the stem-final syllable was apocopated in the 3rd sg. form, it was reinterpreted as part of the ending in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. forms, where it spread to the thematic flexion, and in the 2nd pl. form, where it was at first limited to the athematic flexion.

The 2nd sg. ending *-k^c was eliminated when -k^c became the characteristic plural marker. In the nominal flexion, the nom. and gen. sg. ending *-k^c < *-s was eliminated for the same reason (cf.

Pedersen 1905: 215-221). I do not subscribe to de Lamberterie's judg-
ment that "le génie de H. Pedersen fait preuve de trop de virtuosité
pour emporter la conviction" (1979: 325). The postconsonantal end-
ing *-s merged with the sigmatic aorist marker. The ending -r <
*-ro was taken from the middle paradigm (see below).

    The 1st pl. ending does not show the expected *m. I assume that
the primary thematic ending *-omom replaced the secondary the-
matic ending *-omo before the raising of *o to *u before * m and the
loss of the final nasal. The final part *-mu of the resulting ending
replaced the secondary athematic ending *-me before the loss of *m
before *u. After the apocope, the postconsonantal ending *-a < *-
amu spread to the thematic flexion. Finally, the 1st and 2nd pl. forms
received an additional -k^c from the primary athematic endings.

    5. The PIE middle endings underlie the Arm. middle aorist and
imperfect forms. Elsewhere I have argued that we can reconstruct the
following endings for the proto-language (1981a, section 13):

    2nd sg. transitive *-stHo
              intransitive *-tHo
    3rd sg. transitive *-to
              intransitive *-o
    3rd pl. transitive *-ntro
              intransitive *-ro

In Armenian, as in Tocharian (cf. ibidem, section 22), final *-ro was
extended to the transitive 3rd sg. ending: *-nt : *-ntro = *-t : *-tro.
The intransitive 3rd sg. and pl. endings were subsequently replaced
with *-to and *-nto after the model of the active and transitive middle
endings. These developments may have been common to a larger di-
alectal area. Since *t became characteristic of 3rd sg. forms, the 2nd
sg. endings were replaced with *-so, which was created on the anal-
ogy of the active endings. When intervocalic *s was lost, final *-ro
spread to the 2nd sg. ending, so that we arrive at the following set of
Proto-Armenian middle endings:

    2nd sg. transitive *-ro
              intransitive *-o
    3rd sg. transitive *-tro
               intransitive *-to
    3rd pl. transitive *-ntro
              intransitive *-nto

The 2nd sg. ending *-ro was generalized in the active and middle
aorist and imperfect indicative. The transitive 3rd sg. ending *-tro is
found in the imperfect endings -ēr and -iwr, which I regard as

dialectal variants from *-etro. The intransitive 3rd sg. and pl. endings *-to and *-nto are found in the middle aorist endings -aw < *-ato and -an < *-anto or *-nto after a consonant.

It is generally assumed that the imperfect marker -i- reflects a preterital stem of the copula (e.g., Pedersen 1905: 213, Meillet 1936: 126, Jasanoff 1979: 140) or the PIE optative suffix (e.g., Winter 1975: 114). I think that outside the 3rd sg. form, the imperfect was obtained by simply adding the athematic aorist endings that were discussed in the preceding section to the present stem. Compare the following paradigms:

1st sg.	impf.	berei	aor.	edi
2nd sg.		bereir		edir
3rd sg.		berēr		ed < *edhēt
1st pl.		bereak^c		edak^c
2nd pl.		bereik^c		edik^c
3rd pl.		berein		edin

As was pointed out above, -i- represents the vowel of the stem–final syllable in the majority of athematic aorists. It was reinterpreted as part of the ending when it was apocopated in the 3rd sg. form. The discrepancy between the 1st sg. middle aorist ending -ay and the imperfect ending of a-stems -ayi betrays a chronological difference: the imperfect is a recent formation.

6. The 2nd pl. ending -aruk^c is found next to -ayk^c in the middle aorist indicative, where it was borrowed from the middle aorist imperative. As Pedersen pointed out already (1905: 213f.), it is most probably a pluralization of the 2nd sg. middle aorist imperative ending -ir with substitution of -a- for -i- on the basis of the indicative paradigm. I think that -uk^c was taken from the personal pronoun *yuk^c (cf. section 3 above). The 2nd sg. ending -ir is the expected reflex of the transitive middle ending in the athematic aorist, as was argued in the preceding section. The zero ending of the middle imperatives ari 'get up', nist 'sit down', ert^c 'go', hayeac^c 'look' may represent the intransitive 2nd sg. ending *-o < *-so. The zero ending of the active imperative developed regularly from the PIE thematic ending *-e, pl. -ēk^c < *-ete-s.

The prohibitive imperative in -r belongs to the present system and cannot be connected with the middle aorist imperative in -r for two reasons. On the one hand, the prohibitive ending -r is common to the active and the middle, whereas the aorist imperative ending is limited to the middle voice. It is unlikely that the middle ending was generalized in the present imperative, where we find the active pl.

ending -yk^c < *-te-s. On the other hand, the prohibitive -r is limited to the singular while the aorist imperative r is also found in the plural. I therefore stick to the traditional view that the final r of the prohibitive imperative represents a particle which can be compared with Gr. $\acute{\rho}\alpha$ (cf. Meillet 1936: 119), e.g. berer < *bhere-ra.

FOOTNOTES

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ARMENO E ITTITA
MORENO MORANI

G.R. Solta, nel concludere la sua succinta ma ricca descrizione della lingua armena nello *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, sì, richiama, per analogia, alla definizione che M. Bartoli aveva data del rumeno, chiamandolo "il più latino e il meno latino tra i linguaggi neolatini"[1] e chiarisce così in modo sintetico ma efficace i rapporti fra l'armeno e le altre lingue indeuropee. Ricco di elementi tenacemente conservativi quanto di audaci innovazioni che ne hanno in parte sfigurato la struttura originaria[2], l'armeno può essere definito una lingua indeuropea esattamente quanto il rumeno una lingua neolatina o l'inglese una lingua germanica. Nel lessico, il suo patrimonio ereditario indeuropeo è stato quasi sommerso da una grandissima quantità di imprestiti iranici, tanto da giustificare l'abbaglio in cui sono incorsi per quasi un secolo i primi ricercatori, che avevano fatto dell'armeno un dialetto iranico anziché una lingua a sé stante[3]; nel sistema della declinazione, l'evoluzione recente ha portato l'armeno ad assomigliare a una lingua agglutinante assai più che ad una lingua flessiva di tipo indeuropeo; l'aspetto fonetico si è notevolmente alterato rispetto alla situazione originaria, anche per il forte influsso delle lingue caucasiche meridionali; nella sintassi, l'ordine delle parole, da libero e simile a quello delle lingue europee moderne, qual era nella fase linguistica antica, si è via via trasformato, divenendo rigido e simile a quello turco. Nel corso di vicende ricche e complesse, la lingua armena ha avuto contatti con lingue spesso geneticamente lontane fra loro, che vanno dall'iranico al greco, alle lingue semitiche, alle lingue caucasiche, fino (in tempi più recenti) al turco e alle lingue slave. Ma, al di là di

tutti questi elementi, giustificati dalla storia della nazione armena e dalla sua posizione geografica, in un punto cruciale dove civiltà diverse per tutto il corso della storia sono venute in confronto o addirittura in conflitto, l'armeno presenta nel suo fondo più antico degli elementi di estremo interesse per lo studioso, molti dei quali sfuggenti finora all'analisi: parole anche importanti (basterà pensare, per tutte, al numerale per 'cento' *hariwr*) non hanno trovato alcuna spiegazione plausibile e hanno posto il problema dei possibili apporti di lingue di sostrato nella formazione della lingua armena: le indagini più recenti non hanno chiarito in modo del tutto soddisfacente la questione.

In questo senso l'approfondimento dei rapporti esistenti tra l'armeno e gli altri dialetti indeuropei presenta notevole interesse. Non sono soltanto gli aspetti linguistici a rendere importante questo problema, ma anche aspetti storici più generali. Non sappiamo quando e come la lingua armena si sia formata. Il popolo armeno appare, in modo quasi repentino, a una data relativamente recente: il suo nome si trova in un'iscrizione cuneiforme di Dario e la sua storia data dal momento di quella fusione fra esso e la gente urartea che ci è narrata dagli storici greci, mentre gli Armeni stessi mostrano un'idea confusa della loro preistoria; la lingua ci è nota da una data ancora più tarda, vale a dire circa un secolo dopo la conversione armena al Cristianesimo, avvenuta nel periodo più crudo della persecuzione dioclezianea. Se gli Armeni giunsero alle sedi storiche da Ovest, muovendo dalla penisola anatolica, ovvero da Est, penetrando dal Caucaso, è questione che ancora non ha ricevuto da parte degli studiosi una soluzione definitiva. In mancanza di argomenti storici e archeologici probanti, solo l'indagine linguistica può cercare una risposta a queste domande.

Lo studio delle possibili relazioni fra l'armeno e le lingue dell'Anatolia potrebbe dare qualche indicazione sulla questione proposta. Gli studiosi che hanno affrontato questa problematica si sono schierati, alla conclusione dei loro studi, su posizioni nettamente discordi. Mentre le relazioni dell'armeno con altri gruppi dialettali indeuropei sono state sufficientemente chiarite, le possibili connessioni dell'armeno con le lingue dell'Anatolia, e in modo particolare con l'ittita, che fra tutte è la meno frammentariamente documentata e studiata, restano ancora da approfondire. Apparentemente, arm. e itt. sono profondamente diversi, ed è difficile scorgere elementi comuni. L'accurata indagine compiuta dal Solta sugli elementi del lessico indeuropeo ereditati in armeno ha condotto lo studioso a una conclusione decisamente negativa[4]: l'armeno non ha nessuna parola in co-

mune esclusivamente con l'ittita; eventualmente l'ittita può entrare a far parte di un'isoglossa più vasta (e antica) che collega l'armeno a numerose altre lingue. Tra le innovazioni comuni Solta segnala soltanto l'aggettivo *barjr* 'alto', passato ai temi in -u- come l'itt. *parkus*. Si potrebbe aggiungere qualche altra innovazione del genere comune alle due lingue (ad es. abbiamo in itt. *wetenas* gen. 'dell'acqua' col grado e della radice, come nell'arm. *get* 'fiume' e nel frigio βεδυ anziché in o come nel got. *wato*, asl. *voda*), qualche relazione lessicale venuta alla luce dopo le indagini del Solta, come l'itt. *sai-, siya-* 'premere' da confrontare con l'arm. *himn* 'fondamento' e pochi altri. Certo, questa carenza di elementi lessicali comuni lascia perplessi, anche se il carattere estremamente innovativo del lessico armeno e del lessico ittita indica in maniera evidente il limite di una simile indagine. In armeno solo quattro centinaia di parole (vale a dire, circa il 10% dell'intiero lessico) sono state classificate da Hubschmann come "echtarmenisch": gli studi successivi hanno allargato di poco questo numero. L'*Indogermanisches etymologisches .Wörterbuch* esamina un migliaio di lemmi armeni e ne propone un'etimologia indeuropea, ma non tutto il materiale è ugualmente attendibile: in molti casi la sistemazione sotto un'unica radice indeuropea di numerose forme considerate in maniera astratta, al di fuori di un'analisi semantica, è ingannevole. Euppure, come afferma G. Devoto, in armeno "gli elementi indoeuropei del lessico sono t r e volte più consistenti di quelli ittiti"[5]: in quest'ultima lingua anche gruppi di parole diffusi in tutto il territorio, quali i nomi di parentela e i numerali, sono stati sostituiti da innovazioni. Basti questo dato per indicare quanto il patrimonio lessicale di eredità indeuropea in entrambe le lingue sia state eliminato o sconvolto.

Ma un'altra osservazione occorre fare. L'indagine del Solta si muove in un'ottica fondamentalmente genetica. Una risposta positiva alla sua ricerca avrebbe portato come conclusione che Armeni e Ittiti hanno costituito un'unità etnico-linguistica intermedia fra la diaspora indeuropea e il raggiungimento delle sedi storiche. Una diversa impostazione del problema, che mirasse a individuare eventuali punti di contatto fra gli elementi lessicali armeni d'ignota origine e alcuni termini anatolici, da valutarsi come imprestiti passati dall'area anatolica a quella armena o come risultato della penetrazione in entrambe le ligue di elementi di sostrato, può portare a risultati interessanti. Già nel 1931 J. Friedrich si augurava che si potessero rinvenire connessioni lessicali (*Lehnwörter*) fra armeno e ittita[6]. Un'indagine in questo senso era stata tentata dal Martirossian[7], che aveva indicato

una ventina di parole ittite somiglianti esteriormente a parole armene. Ma l'arbitrarietà di certi accostamenti e la mancanza di un serio metodo critico aveva suscitato perplessità e frenato il proseguimento della ricerca. Questa era distinata ad essere ripresa con vigore negli anni sessanta, dopo la pubblicazione postuma del volume di Gr. Kapantzian, *Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty*, Erevan 1956, un capitolo del quale si intitola appunto *Obščie elementy meždu xettskim i armjanskim jazykami*. Nonostante molti elementi improbabili o sicuramente erronei della sua indagine, e nonostante la prospettiva polemica nei confronti della scienza glottologica qual era coltivata in Europa (si giunge persino a negare la qualifica indeuropea dell'ittita), la perfetta conoscenza della lingua armena e la quantità di accostamenti tra parole armene e parole ittite proposti dallo studioso attiravano l' attenzione dei ricercatori. In un articolo del 1961 T. Schultheiss riportava a sua volta un copioso elenco di termini ittiti e armeni posti a confronto [8], e sulla base di questi accostamenti giungeva ad alcune conclusioni di notevole interesse anche riguardo ai sistemi fonetici delle due lingue nel momento in cui erano avvenuti gl'imprestiti fra armeno e ittita. Egli notava p. es. che in arm. una *s* dell'itt. è generalmente resa con *š*: tuttavia nei gruppi *sk*, *sx*, *sp* è *s* dell'arm. e non *š* a rispondere alla sibilante ittita; ciò fa pensare a una pronunzia intermedia fra *s* e *š* nella lingua ittita, cosa che la scrittura cuneiforme di per sé non sarebbe in grado d'indicare. Ad una *h*, *hh* ittita può corrispondere in arm. tanto x quanto *h*, cosicchè si deve ammettere che in itt. *h* avesse una pronunzia talora più dura e talora più debole. Ancora, alle occlusive dell'itt. l'arm. risponde sempre con sorde oppure sorde aspirate, mai con medie: l'autore conclude da ciò che al tempo della ricezione dell'imprestito le sonore aspirate dell'ie. avevano assunto una pronunzia spirante, salvoché nella posizione dopo liquida e nasale, dove la pronunzia era occlusiva.

L'indagine proseguiva con ulteriori risultati gli anni seguenti. Nel 1974 N. Mkrtschjan [9], mentre ribadiva che le affinità lessicali armeno-ittite non nascono da parentela genetica ma da contatti secondari avvenuti nel XII sec. a.C. in terrirorio anatolico, indicava un interessante modo di procedere. Esaminando alcuni termini religiosi ittiti, tentava di riconoscere l'esistenza degli stessi vocaboli nel lessico armeno pagano, in base alla considerazione che il lessico religioso armeno anteriore alla conversione cristiana abbia assunto dopo questa un senso fortemente deteriore e negativo. Così l'itt. *mugāi-* 'pregare' si ritroverebbe nell'arm. *mogel* 'compiere riti magici'; l'itt. *urayanni-* 'sacerdote oppure funzionario del tempo' nell'arm. *uru-arar* 'illu-

,sionita', e così via.

Spingendosi ulteriormente su questa strada, J.A.C. Greppin, che già in precedenza aveva dedicato uno studio al problema dei rapporti lessicali armeno-ittitti[10], nel 1975 confronta non più due termini lessicali, ma addirittura due elementi morfologici d'importanza rilevante come l'arm. z- e l'itt. -az.

Resta da dire che difficoltà, incertezze e anche resistenze gravano tuttora su questo settore d'indagine. Basti vedere la recensione che R. Godel ha dedicato nella *Revue des études arméniennes* al volume di G. Jahukian, *Hayerena ew hindevropakan hin lezunera* (Erevan 1970), che in un capitolo si ere soffermato anche su alcuni possibili rapporti lessicali armeno-ittiti, e la risposta dello stesso autore sulla medesima rivista in difesa della propria opera (rispettivamente vol. 8, pag. 438 segg. e vol. 10, pag. 51 e segg.).

La diversità di posizioni assunte dagli studiosi sulla questione dei rapporti armeno-ittiti è facilmente mostrabile, se si mette a confronto l'opinione di H. Pedersen, che vede nell'armeno e nell'ittita le due lingue agli antipodi della famiglia indeuropea[11], con quella di W.M. Austin, che addirittura considera l'armeno una lingua anatolica "belonged with Hittite, Hieroglyphic Hittite, Luwian and Lycian. It (cioè l' armeno) was probably more closely connected with the last three than with the first"[12]. Ovviamente quest'ultima tesi pare forzata e prematura. Essa non era del tutto nuova: già S. Bugge nel 1897 aveva tentato di accertare la presenza di speciali relazioni tra licio e armeno: tuttavia il metodo della sua indagine apparve così disinvolto e il materiale accumulato così malsicuro, da gettare discredito sull'ipotesi stessa e da consigliare di relegarla nel dimenticatoio[13]. Dei quattro fatti fonetici che Austin indica come prove di una sicure affinità fra armeno e licio, almeno tre (ie. *s->, Ø in armeno come in licio; i.e. *-s- in posizione intervocalica > -h- in armeno e in licio; ie. *k̂ e *qᵘ danno rispettivamente s e k in armeno, s e k in licio) sono però indiscutibili[14]. R. Gusmani[15], oltre a precisare i rapporti cronologici (sia in senso assoluto, sia relativamente agli esiti di *st, *sk, *sh e *k̂ < s per il licio, agli esiti di *k̂ > s e alla palatalizzazione delle sibilanti dopo r e k in armeno) dell'aspirazione di *s > h iniziale e intervocalico, e pertanto condizionato, che riguarda non solamente l'arm. e il lic., ma anche l' iranico e il greco, ha aggiunto un altro fenomeno comune, vale a dire la relativa debolezza delle sibilanti finali, che compare anche in iranico, in miliaco e in altre lingue minori. Naturalmente, da questo ad affermare che esistono speciali affinità fra il licio e l'armeno il passo è lungo. Il torto dell'Austin è stato quello di considerare la que-

stione unicamente da un punto di vista genealogico, intendendo l'unità anatolica come un dato *a priori*, anzichè il risultato di un incrociarsi e convergere di esiti che hanno condotto lingue originariamente diverse ad assumere una fisionomia in parte somigliante, e di ritenere questo "proto-anatolico" come la prima lingua separatasi dall'originario e fantomatico "proto-indo-ittita". In realtà molti dei fatti esaminati da Austin si rivelano come recenti: tale è l'aspirazione della sibilante in posizione inizale e intervocalia, avvenuta in un'area linguistica compatta in un periodo sufficientemente databile, certo posteriore al disfacimento dell'unità linguistica indeuropea, e tale è probabilmente l'assibilazione delle palatali, che da tempo ha perso l'alone che la circondò in tempi più lontani, come indice essenziale d'una discriminazione dialettale dell'originaria unità indeuropea, per rivelarsi frutto di sviluppi postoeriori, in parte papalleli, che i singoli dialetti hanno svolto secondariamente: quest'ultima asserzione pare dimostrata anche da studi che hanno affrontato il problema proprio dal punta di vista dell'armeno[16]. Si aggiunga che la presenza di forme *satem* nella penisola anatolica, sulle quali è tornato in epoca recente, con uno studio tanto esauriente quanto persuasivo, R. Gusmani, e l'impossibilità di definire in modo perentorio dal punta di vista dell'opposizione *kentum : satem* non solo il licio, ma anche altre lingue della penisola anatolica, come il frigio[17], fa presupporre nella penisola stessa l'esistenza di un centro dal quale è partita questa assibilazione delle originarie palatali, estendendosi con forza sempre meno profonda fino a lambire in modo del tutto marginale le parlate cui fa capo in epoca storica il dialetto ciprio, nel quale si possono accertare delle tracce, ormai molto deboli, di questo fenomeno[18]. Se si potesse identificare nel pre-armeno, dove l'assibilazione di *k è assai più sistematica e completa, il centro di diffusione di tali innovazioni, avremmo un'isoglossa ben più interessante, per le implicazioni storiche che comporterebbe.

Una posizione intermedia tra quella di Pederson e quella di Austin fu assunta da G. Bonfante, che, in una serie di studi vòlti a chiarire la posizione dialettale dell'ittita fra le lingue inderopee[19], enumerava, su quaranta fatti soprattutto fonetici e morfologici esaminati, quattro coincidenze fra l'armeno, l'ittita e un'altra lingua indeuropea: in questi casi di isoglosse fra l'ittita e un'altra due lingue indeuropee, il greco si presentava diciotto volte, l'armeno come si è detto, quattro, l'indo-iranico e le lingue germaniche tre, le lingue baltiche, slave e celtiche due, altri dialetti una saola volta. Tuttavia, nelle isoglosse che collegano l'ittita a una sola lingua indeuropea, il greco compare pre-

sente ben dieci volte, contro due delle lingue germaniche, una dell'indo-iranico e nessuna dell'armeno. Fatto curioso dunque, la presenza di un notevole numero di concordanze fra greco e armeno da una parte, fra greco e ittita dall'altra, e quasi nulla fra armeno e ittita, poco almeno di particolarmente caratterizzante. Ed è anche importante che si possano notare, in base a questi studi, concordanze fra armeno e ittita, ma nessuna speciale affinità, in quanto sono solamente le isoglosse esclusive che permettono di pensare a relazioni più strette fra due lingue. Certo non tutte le isoglosse presentate da Bonfante possono essere esaminate con la stessa ottica; alcune sono da considerare antiche, altre invece si riferiscono a fatti avvenuti dopo la diaspora indeuropea. Soprattutto a queste seconde, come si è detto, occorrerebbe prestare una grande attenzione. Anche le numerose e significative isoglosse fra greco e armeno, che già molti studioso hanno esaminato, non devono essere tutte riferite al periodo dell'unità indeuropea. Esse ci riportano in parte a periodi molto antichi e permettono di riaffermare la posizione orientale (danubiana) e contigua di queste lingue nell'originaria comunità linguistica indeuropea[20]; altre invece sono più recenti e possono essere avvenute proprio sul suolo anatolico, se è vero che, come afferma V. Pisani nella sua teoria sull'origine della lingua greca, gli originari dialetti da cui sono derivati miceneo, ionico e arcadico-ciprio furono portati sul suolo ellenico da invasori provenienti dalla penisola anatolica[21]. Una grande importanza avrebbero pertanto le isoglosse anatoliche che permettessero di collegare, oltre al greco e all'armeno, anche l'ittita. Su qualcuna di queste isoglosse si è soffermato lo stesso Pisani[22].

Una posizione diversa è stata sostenuta da altri studiosi come F. Sommer. Egli riconduce le concordanze fra armeno e ittita ad una comune influenza esercitata in maniera del tutto indipendente su queste lingue dal sostrato caucasico[23]. Secondo Sommer non è possibile parlare di influssi diretti dell'ittita sull'armeno o viceversa, in quanto i Proto-armeni sono giunti a occupare la loro sede storica il VI sec. a.C., cioè oltre un millennio dopo lo stanziamento degli Ittiti in Asia Minore. Sommer ritiene che sia i primi sia i secondi siano arrivati alle loro sedi attraverso il Caucaso. Significative coincidenze fra armeno e lingue caucasiche meridionali peraltro erano già state messe in luce da A. Meillet, il quale era giunto a definire l'armeno una lingua indeuropea usata, e quindi adattata alle proprie abitudini, da popolazioni originariamente parlanti una lingua caucasica[24]. La cosa permane però assai dubbia. Il fatto che si abbiano in georgiano numerosi imprestiti armeni, di fronte a pochissimi imprestiti accertati dal geor-

giano in armeno, e il fatto che l'armeno sia stato anche mediatore di numerosi termini iranici nei confronti del georgiano, fa presumere che eventuali contatti e influssi abbiano seguito piuttosto la direzione dall'armeno al georgiano, in luogo dell' inverso[25]. Del resto, nessunc dei fatti indicati da Sommer come comuni ad armeno, ittita e lingue caucasiche rimanda all'unità linguistica caucasica nel suo complesso: si tratta di isoglosse che collegano se mai armeno e ittita ad alcune lingue caucasiche del Sud, e fan quindi ritenere più probabile l'ipotesi di innovazioni partite dal territorio anatolico giunte a invadere il territorio linguistico caucasico: infatti né la mancanza del genere grammaticale nè la perdita del comparativo può essere considerata caratteristica del causasico comune: a differenza del georgiano, le lingue caucasiche settentrionali, hanno un sistema di classificazione grammaticale assai sviluppato, che si presenta con tratti di sicuro arcaismo; del resto, il genere grammaticale manca in iranico (a partire già dalla fase media) e in alcune lingue uralo-altaiche, come l'ungherese o il turco, senza che si possa dare a questo fatto un valore speciale[26]. Anche la mancanza del comparativo è un fatto che separa le lingue caucasiche meridionali dalle settentrionali, come lo stesso Sommer ammette: non si può pertanto conferire a questa coincidenza ittito-tocario-armeno-georgiana un particolare valore quale prova di un influsso di lingue caucasiche su lingue indeuropee. Sulla possibilità di influssi da lingue di sostrato sull'armeno e sull'ittita sono ritornati in epoca più recente altri studiosi. Le coincidenze armeno-ittite sarebbero il risultato di una comune partecipazione al sostrato delle lingue asianiche dell'Asia minore (hurrico, hattico, urarteo)[27]. E'una via di ricerca senza dubbio interessante, ma certo difficile e pericolosa per le incertezze in cui ancora si dibattono gli studiosi nella decifrazione di lingue frammentariamente tramandate e spesso non riconducibili ad alcuna famiglia linguistica conosciuta[28]. Questo raccomanda una certa prudenza nella valutazione dei risultati che si possono raggiungere.

Anche se apparentemente ittita e armeno sembrano avere pochi elementi in comune, un'indagine accurata può osservare la presenza in entrambe le lingue di alcuni fatti morfologici e di abitudini fonetiche simili di particolare interesse. L'indagine è stata in parte disturbata in anni recenti dalle polemiche sull'ipotesi indo-ittita e sull'esistenza delle laringali in indeuropeo, con discussione che hanno coinvolto, com'è ovvio, in prima persona gli studiosi di lingue anatoliche, i quali hanno affrontato spesso la questione più con lo spirito della guerra religiosa che con quello della ricerca scientifica

disinteressata. Posta la precarietà di un'indagine puramente lessicale, resta un'altra notevole debolezza che inficia alla radice questo tipo di ricerca, ed è costituita dalla grande distanza cronologica che separa il materiale ittita in nostro possesso dalle più antiche documentazioni dell'armeno. Inoltre, fin dalle prime attestazioni, entrambe le lingue si rivelano profondamente modificate da tutta una serie di influssi stranieri che ne hanno alterato di molto la fisionomia originaria: l'armeno ha già subito un massiccio influsso iranico e sta cominciando a subire un influsso non solo linguistico, ma anche culturale da parte della Grecia e del mondo cristiano orientale (siriaco in particolare). Anche se la ricostruzione linguistica permette di presupporre fasi più antiche attraverso la comparazione con le altre lingue indeuropee, l'incertezza è pur sempre d'obbligo. Non è possibile, per esempio, confrontare i testi micenei con le iscrizioni pompeiane; per quanto raffinata, l'analisi linguistica si troverebbe sempre di fronte a troppi ostacoli, perchè il valore dei risultati raggiunti non sia inficiato in partenza. Nonostante questi limiti, e la prudenza che necessariamente deve accompagnare una ricerca del genere, tentiamo di indicare alcuni fatti significativi in cui l'armeno e l'ittita coincidono. Vanno escluse a priori le isoglosse di conservazione, le isoglosse troppo diffuse nel territorio indeuropeo per avere un valore classificatorio determinante (p. es. il passaggio *-m › -n in posizione finale, che riguarda tutti i dialetti salvo il latino e l'indo-iranico) e gli elementi che presentano carattere troppo contraddittorio per avere un valore definitivo (p. es. il passaggio di r̥ ad ar in arm., itt, e greco, in quanto il fatto non appare del tutto sicuro, esistendo le possibilità di esiti diversi in ittita e potendosi ammettere che in greco non sia ar, bensì or l'esito più antico del fonema ie.; inoltre anche in arm. si hanno tracce di esiti secondari di *r̥, *l̥ › ur, ul). Avranno invece particolare valore elementi di formazione che, pur essendo parte dell'eredità indeuropea più antica (come il suffisso *-sk̑-formatore di temi verbali), sono stati trattati in modo più esteso e con particolari valori da queste lingue. Nelle pagine seguenti indichiamo i principali elementi di concordanza armeno-ittita, riprendendo in parte osservazioni già fatte da precedenti studiosi e aggiungendo qualche fatto non ancora, a nostro parere, notato. Parleremo sempre di contatti o eventualmente di isoglosse, senza accennare a problemi di sostrato ittita in armeno (o viceversa); come è noto, il termine contatto è più generico, e non impegna lo studioso a giudicare quando e dove certe concordanze linguistiche sono avventue e da dove sono partite. Indubbiamente, i fatti di cui parleremo in sèguito si sono sviluppati in Anotolia e posterior-

mente alla diaspora indeuropea: il carattere di eccezionalità che al-
cuni esiti fonetici e alcuni modi di formazione morfologica hanno
all'interno dei sistemi linguistici ittita e armeno impone sempre di
pensare a isoglosse secondarie. Ma è anche difficile ammettere per ra-
gioni storiche una reciproca influenza di armeno e ittita, il cui arrivo
in Asia minore, come già si è detto, è avvenuto a distanza di quasi un
millennio. E' più probabile ammettere invece che l'armeno abbia par-
tecipato a tendenze di rimaneggiamenti fonetici e morfologici affer-
matisi in Asia minore: è notevole infatti che le concordanze siano più
precise con una ligua attestata a data relativamente bassa come il licio:
per esempio la perdita del genere grammaticale è ancora *in fieri* in it-
tita e luvio (dove la triplice opposizione ie. è ridotta a una duplice op-
posizione fra genere comune e genere neutro), mentre è completa in
licio, così come in armeno.

   E' noto che l'armeno è una delle poche lingue ie. a conservare
insieme col lat. e il gr. l'originaria distinzione fra *a, *o, *e brevi. In
cuni casi tuttavia per ie. *o troviamo in arm. un trattamento con *a*, in
luogo dell'attesta o: cfr. *asr* 'vello' (‹ *poǩ-, gr. πόκος *IEW* 797), *ač'k'*
'occhi' (‹ *oqʷye, rideterminato con la desinenza di nominativo
plurale), *aitnum* 'sono gonfio' (da una rad. ie. *oid-, gr. οἰδάω, *IEW*
774, arm. *ateam* 'odio' rispetto al lat. *odium*, ecc.[29]. Meillet, nel segna-
lare il fenomeno, si limita a notare che in casi del genere l'arm. può
avere sostituito una *a* a forme con *o* iniziale in voci prive di alternanze
apofoniche con termini corradicali di grado *e*, e dubita che in casi del
genere l'*a* dell'arm. rappresenti la diretta continuazione di una *o ie.
[30]. Questa spiegazione non è del tutto sufficiente, se si nota che l'arm.
preferisce il timbro *a* anche in alcuni casi di protesi vocalica, per pa-
role di derivazione indeuropea che ricorrono anche in gr. con protesi
vocalica in *o-*: cfr. *anun* 'nome' : gr. ὄνομα (*IEW* 321); *ałk'at* 'povero,
bisognoso' gr. ὀλίγος (*IEW* 667). E' difficile non scorgere in questi casi
un riflesso di abitudini fonetiche diverse da quelle originarie armene,
e non si può fare a meno di notare la somiglianza col trattamento ittita,
in cui originarie *a, *o dell'ie. vengono fuse in un unico timbro *a*: in
itt. questa fusione è posteriore alla chiusura di *o* in *u* dinanzi nasale e
pare relativamente recente[31]. Tuttavia è possibile procedere ulterior-
mente. L'arm. mostra anche sporadicamente confusioni di *a con *e.
Il caso più noto è quello del numerale per 'dieci', che appare in arm.
nella forma *tasn* ‹ ie. *deǩm̥. Non si può avanzare l'ipotesi
dell'influsso iranico, perché nei dialetti iranici la stessa parola appare
in una forma assai diversa (mpers. *dah*) regolarmente assunta
dall'arm. negli imprestiti *dahakan* 'moneta' e *dahadram* 'moneta da

dieci dramme', né presupporre un influsso della *-an finale, risultato della *-ṇ da *-ṃ (successivamente ridotta a -n per i noti effetti dell'accento armeno), in quanto in casi analoghi non si verifica alcun fatto simile: cfr. jer̂n 'mano' ‹ ĝhesr-ṃ[32]. Anche in altri termini si possono presupporre casi di a per e: as es. in kamurǰ 'ponte' con ka- in luogo del ke- iniziale presupponibile dal confronto con gr. γέφυρα[33]. Vi sono però almeno altri due esempi che pongono dal punto di vista fonetico una difficoltà che Meillet nell'*Esquisse* non sembra notare[34]: si tratta di garun 'primavera' e di ariwn 'sangue': la parte radicale di questi sostantivi risale alle radici ie. *wesr- (gr. Fέαρ, lit. *vasara*) e risp. *esr- (scr. *asrk*, gr. ἔαρ, itt. *eshar*); qui la -s- venutasi a trovare tra due vocali, la seconda delle quali esito dell'originaria liquida sonante, dovrebbe cadere, permettendo alle due vocali venute a contatto di proseguire la normale evoluzione fonetica armena; esattamente come un antico *swesōr è *divenuto* *k'ehūr, poi *k'eur, infine k'oyr, col normale esito del dittongo ue. Ora, ea secondario in posizione tonica rimane stabile, come confermano gli esempi altrove recati dallo stesso Meillet de keam 'io vivo' (‹ *-iyā-) o di gorceac' 'lavorò' (‹*isā-) o di jean 'della neve' (‹ *-iyn), ma si riduce in sillaba atona ad e, come in gorcec'i 'lavorai'. Dunque in garun e ariwn abbiamo un'altra sostituzione di antica e con a, con un esito eccezionale che richiama anche qui analoghi fatti anatolici: in ittita sono documentate evoluzioni di *e in a soprattutto dinanzi a r, ma anche in altri termini come na-tta 'non' per *ne-; preziosa appare soprattutto la testimonianza del luvio, che ci offre la forma asha- 'sangue', con la stessa a- dell'omologa parola armena. Ma una confusione di a con e è documentabile anche in frigio, soprattutto dinanzi a r, come mostrano le glosse μάταρ e αβμάν[35], ma anche altrove, come in γέλαƑος e γάλλαƑος 'cognata' [36] da una radice con *a nella prima sillaba, come mostra il gr. γάλως; cfr. anche arm. tal (con t- in luogo di *c- per influsso di taygr). Infine, anche in greco si ha qualche debole traccia di simili confusioni: ad es. μέγεθος per μέγαθος , κνάπτω risp. a κνέφαλλον, il nome Ἀκάδημος dell'eroe che appare in beotico come HFεκαδαμος e in tessalico come HFεκεδαμος. L'eccezionalità degli esiti fa pensare a influssi secondari nei quali è però possibile osservare qualche legame coi paralleli fatti anatolici [37].

L'ittita e altre lingue anatoliche mostrano spesso delle oscillazioni fra i/u (y/w); cfr. itt. huwantsi e huyantsi 'corrono'; itt. siwat-, luv. Tiwat- e pal. Tiyat-; itt. talu-ki 'lungo', talu-kasti 'lunghezza' risp. a gr. δολιχός; anche in parole di origine ignota zi-la-ti-ya risp. a zi-la-tu-wa 'im Zukunft'[38]. Un fatto analogo si incontra in armeno, dove una

i (anche secondaria da *-iyo-, -iya-*) può diventare *w* in posizione interna dinanzi *o*: cfr. *telwoǰ* e *telwoy*, locativo e risp. genitivo di *teli* 'luogo'; *tarwoǰ* locativo di *tari* 'anno'. Nei paradigmi della declinazione l'alternanza *i/w* è stata fissata in modo rigoroso dalla lingua letteraria; negli avverbi si riscontra una maggiore incostanza: i manoscritti antichi sono incerti nella grafia tra *barwok', bariok', bariwok'* 'bene'. Lo stesso fatto potrebbe essere accennato da sviluppi dialettali posteriori: p.es. il dittongo *iw* dà *i* nel dialetto di Erevan, *u* nel dialetto di Erzerum [39]. Sporadici esempi di simili incertezze tra *i* e *u* si riscontrano anche in greco: cfr. κάλυξ risp. a lat. *calix* e ai. *kalikā* [40].

In armeno il dittongo *ou*, con cui ricade anche *eu* originario, si palatalizza in *oy*, L'antichità del fenomeno è mostrata dal parallelismo tra quest'evoluzione dell'arm. e gli analoghi svolgimenti dell'albanese, in cui pure *eu, *ou*, dopo essersi confusi, si evolvono in *e*, certo passando attraverso una fase *oi* ancora conservata in arm. [41]. Tuttavia la vitalità di questo svolgimento fonetico in arm. è mostrata dal fatto che esso ricorre non solamente nelle parole di tradizione indueropea (*boyc* 'nutrimento' › *bheuĝ-*), ma anche negli imprestiti iranici di epoca arsacide [42]: cfr. *kapoyt* 'azzurro', assunto in arm. in una forma *kapout*, intermedia fra quella iranica antica *kapauta-* e la forma pehlevi *kapōt*. Un esito consimile di *ou* in *oy* si ha anche nella forma itt. per 'bocca', che appare come *ais* o *ayis*, da un più antico *oys*, contro una rad. con iniziale *ou-* documentata dalle altre lingue indeuropee [43]: ant. ind. *ostha-*, ant. pruss. *austo*, asl. *usta*. Tuttavia *eu-* si confonde con *ou-* e si svolge in *oi-* anche nella documentazione frigia, come ha mostrato H. Vogt [44]. L'apparente concordanza armeno-frigio-anatolico-albanese è però di difficile valutazione e meriterebbe di essere approfondita con uno studio che esorbiterebbe dai limiti di questa nota.

Già diversi studiosi hanno posto in rilievo il fatto che in ittita non si trova alcuna forma con *r-* iniziale; questo suono in inizio di parola è assai debolmente testimoniato anche in licio, lidio, ittita geroglifico, e non pare presente in frigio, né in hurrico. Come è noto, *r-* iniziale è rifiutato anche dal greco, che provvede di una protesi vocalica le parole ereditate dall'indeuropeo inizianti con questo suono [45]. Anche in arm. assistiamo a un esito simile: le parole indeuropee con *r-* hanno una protesi vocalica: cfr. *erek* 'oscurità' risp. a got. *riqis*; *arew* 'sole' risp. a scr. *ravih*. Questo fatto tuttavia in arm. non è molto antico: esso è successivo allo sviluppo di *p › h-* e di *t- ›[ ] e poi [φ], così come alla metatesi di *r* + occlusiva e all'esito di *sr- › r- *: cfr. *arta-*

suk' 'lacrime' ‹ *draku- (aated. trahan); erkan 'mola' risp. a scr. grāvā :pietra'; erēc' 'anziano, sacerdote' risp. a lat. prîscus; erek' 'tre' ‹ *treyes; aru 'canale' dalla rad. ie. *sreu- [46]. Lo stesso fenomeno si incontra anche nei prestiti iranici d'epoca arsacide: cfr. erak 'vena' (phl;. rak); erasan 'corda' (phl. rasan); aroyr 'ottone' (phl. rōy, av. raoiδita-). Solo negli imprestiti arabi e in prestiti iranici più recenti si ha r- iniziale senza protesi vocalica: cfr. ratinēč 'resina di pino' (arabo rāğ); rot 'fiume' (phl. rōd, apers. rautah-); razm 'esercito, combattimento' (phl. razm); ram 'volgo, plebaglia', reimprestito da phl. ramak, già entrato in arm. nella forma eram 'schiera, truppa'. Tutti questi fatti` inducono a pensare che il rifiuto di *r- iniziale sia dovuto ad abitudini fonetiche contratte dai Pre-armeni quando il loro sistema consonantico si era già molto allontanato dalla forma originaria e quando si sono trovati a diretto contatto con lingue che ugualmente non ammettevano questo suono in inizio di parola [47].

Molto diffusa nella grafia ittita è l'oscillazione fra m e w Le valutazioni che gli studiosi han dato di questo fatto sono molto varie: lo Sturtevant proietta all'originario Proto-indo-ittita quest'oscillazione, mentre studiosi successivi hanno pensato a una dissimilazione puramente grafica fra u e w nel gruppo uw estesa poi ad altri casi. Contro quest'ultima osservazione sta però il fatto che analoghe oscillazioni fra m e w soprattutto in suffissi appaiono già in periodo indeuropeo cfr. l'alternanza fra *-ment e *-went, entrambi assai produttivi in ant. indiano e greco, oppure fra i suffissi d'infinito *-menai e *-wenai, ricorrenti in ant. indiano e greco): è quindi probabile che l'ittita abbia conservato ed eventualmente esagerato una caratteristica antica [48]. Infatti l'oscillazione m/w assume particolare frequenza nelle lingue dell'Anatolia: oltre a qualche termine isolato (p.es. luv. Annaruminzi itt. Innarawantes) essa compare in suffissi (-mant/-want; -mar/-war) e desinenze, soprattutto in quella di prima persona plurale -meni/ -weni (dove però lo scambio pare realmente dovuto a ragioni di dissimilazione grafica, ricorrendo solamente dopo -u-) e di supino II -man/-wan. Anche in armeno si osservano però fatti simili: oltre che in qualche termine isolato (awr 'giorno' amōr, cfr. gr. ἧμαρ)[49] l'alternanza m/w s'incontra nel suffisso -mn formatore di astratti. In esso -mn si trasforma in -wn opo a, i, "par une altération qui s'explique aisément" [50], ma rimane intatto, dopo u, nel suffisso -umn, largamente produttivo. La coincidenza coi fatti ittiti è di per sé evidente. Un altro fenomeno e` però interessante notare: -mn anche dopo una o antica: cfr. anun 'nome' da *a-nomn-; gnayun 'mobile', formato dalla rad. di gnam 'io vado' con un suffisso -omno- simile a quello che si incontra

nel lat. *alumnus*. Le conseguenze di questa constatazione sono assai importanti: -*mn* è diventato -*wn* in un momento in cui la **o* ie. era ancora intatta, non aveva cioè subito ancora il passaggio a u dinanzi nasale. Si conclude anche che l'esito o̲>u̲ in arm. è relativamente recente, almeno rispetto ai grandi rimaneggiamenti del sistema fonetico armeno, e si è tentati di collegarlo con l'analogo esito dell'antica **o* ie. (originariamente distinta da **a*) in itt., passata anch'essa a u dinanzi nasale, come si può arguire dalla desinenza -*un* ‹ -*on* della prima persona singolare del preterito o dall'aggettivo *humant* 'tutto', corradicale del lat. *omnis*. Una tendenza analoga si riscontra anche in qualche dialetto greco: p.es. in ciprio ον (ion.ov (ion. ανα) diviene υν, ecc.

Un fatto che ha attirato l'attenzione degli studiosi in maniera particolare è il rinforzo dell'attacco vocalico in inizio di parola che ha condotto sia l'arm. sia l'itt. a porre spesso delle *h-* non etimologiche dinanzi a parole di tradizione indeuropea anticamente inizianti per vocale. Gli esempi sono numerosi, ma il giudizio da dare su di essi è estremamente difficile, per le note implicazioni della teoria laringalistica [51]. E' opportuno quindi, senza entrare in ulteriori particolari, limitarsi a segnalare alcune interressanti isoglosse tra armeno e ittita: arm. *haw*, gen. *hawu* 'nonno', itt. *huhhas* e lic. χυγα 'nonno materno' risp. a lat. *avus* [52]; arm. *hanem*, itt. *han-* 'toglie re. tirare'; arm. *hatanem* 'io taglio' itt. *hatta-* 'penetrare' [53]. Casi di estensione di *h-* iniziale non etimologico si riscontrano anche in greco: sistematicamente nelle parole inizianti per **u-* e sporadicamente in altre voci, quali ἅρμα (gia mic. a₂ .mo); ἵππος (pero ἵκκος Γλαύκιππος, ecc.); ἡμέρα e altre [54]. Traccee dell'antico stato di cose si conservano dopo αλ-privativo: cfr. ἄυπνος con iato dinanzi a *υ- ‹ *sup-* (crf. arm. *k'un*, lat. *somnus* ‹ **swepnos*, scr. *svapnah*) rispetto a ἄνυδρος (con ὑ- antico **u-* grado ridotto di **we-* della rad. **wed-* di itt. *wetar*, ingl. *water*, ecc.) [55].

Un'altra isoglossa fonetica fra armeno, ittita e greco è sta ta segnalata da V. Pisani [56]. Si tratta dell'assibilazione, comune a tutte e tre le lingue, di **t* dinanzi a **w*: gli esempi in gr. sono abbastanza numerosi: cfr. σάκος* *twak-*, scr. *tvac-*; in ittita e armeno si limitano alle forme del pronome personale di seconda singolare: la fo rma itt. *tsik (tsek)* 'tu' non può essere spiegata partendo dall'assibilazione di **t-* dinanzi a vocale, perchè questo fatto sembra verificarsi solo dinanzi antica *i*: si dovrà pensare piuttosto a un'assibilazione di *t* davanti alla *w* semivocalica, penetrata nel paradigma dal nom. sg. come in greco, scr. e altrove. Allo stesso passaggio di **tw- › *sw-* fa pensare il *k'ez* dell'arm., con *k' ‹ sw*, vale a dire col medesimo trattamento che si

trova in *k'oyr* ‹ **swesor*.

Anche lo studio della declinazione mette in luce alcune singolari coincidenze fra armeno e lingue dell'Anatolia. L'arm. ha totalmente perduto l'antica distinzione indeuropea di maschile, femminile e neutro. Un fatto analogo sembra si stia sviluppando in ittita, dove la triplice opposizione della fase più antica è ridotta a una duplice opposizione fra genere comune e genere neutro, fatto questo favorito anche dal ricadere in un unico schema di paradigma degli antichi temi in **-o* (prevalentemente maschili) ed **-a* (prevalentemente femminili), per la confusione dei timbri *a/o* in ittita. Il venir meno dell'opposizione indeuropea è dunque ancora *in fieri* nella situazione che ci presentano i testi ittiti (essa è invece del tutto eliminata nel licio). Ma un'analoga indifferenza al genere grammaticale pare riscontrarsi anche in hurrico e hattico [57]. Inoltre il genere grammaticale manca del tutto nelle lingue caucasiche del Sud, come il georgiano: già si è accennato al valore da dare a questa concordanza armeno-georgiana.

Nella declinazione ittita si sta sviluppando anche un sincretismo fra singolare e plurale: i morfemi desinenziali mantengono in maniera relativamente chiara il loro valore semantico, ma il loro impiego circa il numero grammaticale risulta poco nitido. Di particolare interesse è il frequente scambio che si trova in ittita fra genitivo singolare e plurale: pur essendo regolarmente attestata l'antica forma di genitivo plurale in **-am/-om* (cfr. *siyunan* 'deorum'), è di gran lunga più usata per il plurale la desinenza di genitivo singolare in *-as* (da ie. **-os/-as*). D'altronde si hanno anche esempi di desinenze di genitivo plurale usate con valore di singolare: ÎR^MES-*am-man* 'del mio servo'. Questa neutralizzazione dell'opposizione singolare-plurale si trova anche in licio, ma non in luvio [58]; essa inoltre riappare in ciprio, dove, accanto alle normali forme di gen. sing. in -ω dei temi in **-o*, si trovano anche forme in -ων. Si dovrebbe pertanto concludere che è in fase di svolgimento in alcune lingue dell'Anatolia la perdita dell'antica desinenza di genitivo plurale. Questo fatto ha un esatto parallelo nell'armeno: avendo perduto l'antica desinenza, l'arm. conferisce funzione di genitivo plurale a formazioni aggettivali in **-sko-*, usuali in molte lingue indeuropee: cfr. *glxoc'* 'capitum', *amac'* 'annoruṁ'. Soluzioni del genere s'incontrano anche in varie lingue anatoliche, che usano antiche formazioni aggettivali di pertinenza con valore di genitivo [59].

Ma questa perdita dell'opposizione singolare-plurale nei morfemi desinenziali non si limita al genitivo. E' noto che in greco (già nella fase micenea) l'antica desinenza **-bhi* di strumentale è usata promiscuamente senza distinzione nè di genere nè di numero. Ritengo che lo

stesso si possa dire del -v armeno formatore di strumentale singolare. E' vano cercare nell'opposizione armena strum. sing. *vkʻ: strum plur. -vkʻ* un riflesso dell'antica distinzione indeuropea strum. sing. *-bhi : strum. plur. *-bhis* [60]. Come ha mostrato V. Pisani, il -kʻ dell'arm., indice di plurale sia in nomi sia in verbi, non può essere ricondoto al *s ie. (61): la sua origine va cercata fuori del territorio indeuropeo, forse nel -kʻ desinenza di plurale in molte lingue europee ed asiatiche (uralo-altaiche): cfr. ungherese *ház* 'casa', plur. *házak*; lapp. di Kola *ta* 'questo', plur. *tak*. Pertanto la -kʻ arm. aggiunta generalmente a forme in cui potrebbe sorgere una confusione singolare-plurale (come nel nominativo dei nomi, nelle prime persone dei verbi, nella seconda persona plurale dei verbi rispetto alla terza singolare), ha l'aria di una rideterminazione secondaria e recente.

Ancora, la quasi integrale caduta della sillaba finale ha condotto l'armeno a perdere numerose desinenze ereditate dall'ie. e l' ha costretto a ricorrere ad altri mezzi: in *tełwoʃ* 'nel luogo' la -ʃ da *-dhy- è da mettersi in relazione col gr. -ϑι di αὐτόϑι, οὐρανόϑι. Anche in greco si assiste e fenomeni del genere: gli antichi formanti in -ϑεν designanti origine o moto da luogo tendono spesso a desemantizzarsi, tanto che gia in Omero una forma come ἐμέϑεν corrisponde a un semplice εμοῦ.

Un discorso a parte merita la desinenza armena di ablativo singolare in -ē, che compare in quasi tutti i temi, salvo quelli in -o, dove troviamo una desinenza *oy*, formalmente uguale a quella di genitivo-dativo, risalente all'antico genitivo indeuropeo dei temi in *-o; terminante in *-osyo. Secondo la spiegazione più usuale, si potrebbe vedere in questa -e / -oy dell'arm. l'esito di un più antico *etes / -otes, che a sua volta sarebbe da mettere in relazione col suffisso formatore di avverbi *-tos, produttivo in scr. (*mukha-tas* 'dal volto'), gr. ἐντός, lat. (*fundi-tus*) [62]. La cosa è del tutto plausibile da un punto di vista semantico: anche nelle lingue dell'India c'è un analogo inserimento degli antichi avverbi in -tas nel quadro dei paradigmi nominali (p.es. pāli *sîsato* 'capitis') con funzione di genitivo-ablativo. Qualche difficoltà potrebbe essere sollevata da un punto di vista fonetico: è frequente la perdita di occlusione della *t dinanzi a vocale (poi caduta) della sillaba finale, soprattutto quando questa vocale ha timbro e, i: tuttavia le condizioni precise di tale fenomeno non sono perfettamente perspicue. Dagli esempi recati da meillet [63] sembrerebbe che il fenomeno si svolga unicamente in posizione intervocalica, quando la vocale seguente la *-t è finale assoluta di parola o seguita da -r: in altri casi sono in gioco conguagliamenti analogici (cfr. *bay* e *erewoytʻ*, entrambi con originaria *-tis svolta in due maniere differenti). In questo

senso non è del tutto accertabile una provenienza di -e/ -oy ‹ *-etes/-otes. Sturtevant [64] aveva dato una spiegazione in parte analoga della desinenza ablativale -ts (-z), -nts dell'ittita: trascurando le forme con -nts, che sono sicuramente secondarie, -ts può essere fatto risalire, come grado ridotto, al medesimo suffisso *-tes/ -tos. La cosa ha sollevato numerose perplessità. Da una parte, è difficile supporre giochi apofonici così complessi in un suffisso formatore di avverbi, in secondo luogo le altre lingue dell'Anatolia impediscono in modo perentorio di spiegare il *-ts dell'itt. con un -ts indeuropeo: infatti troviamo in luvio -ti e in ittita geroglifico -ta, che remandano con tutta sicurezza a una antica forma comune anatolica in *-ti, rispetto alla quale possiamo osservare per l'ittita la caduta della vocale finale e la normale assibilazione di *t in ts dinanzi i: con questa -ti va poi collegata la desinenza licia di ablativo e strumentale (due funzioni confuse anche in luvio) -di, pededi ... esbedi 'a piedi ... a cavallo' (oppure 'con la cavalleria'?). Muovendo da questa constatazione Kronasser ha supposto una commune derivazione di tutte queste desinenze anatoliche da un più antico *-dhi, da mettere in relazione col -ʃ greco di οὐϱανόϑι e col -ʃ armeno di teĭwo-ʃ: avremmo pertanto una nuova isoglossa armeno-greco-ittita [65]. Ma neppure questa soluzione è convincente, perchè tra il locativo arm. telwoʃ e le forme ablativali delle lingue anatoliche c'è differenza di funzione: inoltre il -di del licio non impone di partire da un *-dhi ie.: troppo poco sappiamo delle condizioni in cui una sonora del licio corrisponde a una sorda delle altre lingue anatoliche perchè si possa dare a questa ipotesi un buon grado di probabilità. Inoltre, -ts dell'ittita presuppone una più antica *-t: di fatti la *-d originaria normalmente si assibila in -s oppure passa a -t senza assibilazione: si noti in modo particolare che l'antica *-dhi, desinenza d'imperativo seconda persona singolare, appare come -t in itt. Più semplice e convincente, nonostante le riserve che sono state mosse, la via percorsa da Austin [66], il quale, rinunciando a una spiegazione "indeuropea", pone come punto di partenza sia per l'arm. sia per le lingue anatoliche una desinenza *-ti, che è da considerare come un'innovazione comune all'area linguistica presa in esame, successiva alla perdita delle antiche desinenze originarie di ablativo singolare. La tesi dell'Austin è certo pertinente da un punto di vista fonetico: anche nei verbi la -ē desinenza di terza persona singolare muove da *-eti (cfr. acē‹ *aĝeti). In conclusione, entrambe le aree linguistiche che stiamo esaminando mostrano una perdita comune del materiale indeuropeo per esprimere la funzione di ablativo e inversamente una tendenza a estendere a tutte le classi tematiche (con un'innovazione simile a quella del

latino e dell'avestico) delle forme proprie di ablativo. Quanto all'oy ,
arm. dei temi in -o, questo dev'essere ritenuto solo formalmente coin-
cidente con la desinenza di genitivo singolare: sarebbe curioso infatti
che l'arm. avesse rinunciato a un'espressione distinta dell'ablativo
proprio nell'unica classe tematica che in periodo indeuropeo ricor-
reva a una distinzione anche formale per l'opposizione genitivo
singolare (desinenza *-osyo) : ablativo singolare (desinenza *-od).

Sulla concordanza armeno-ittita nella preferenza ad impiegare suf-
fissi con -l- anziche con -r- per la formazione dei *nomina agentis*, an-
che se l'innovazione è solamente parziale (cfr. arm. šinawł 'co strut-
tore' ‹ *-tlo-; itt. unatala- 'mercante' ‹ *-tolo), ha gia richiamato
l'attenzione G. Bonfante [87]: tale innovazione ha un parallelo nelle lin-
gue slave (asl. roditelĭ 'genitore' con *-tel-).

Un altro elemento comune fra ittita e armeno, che trova riscontro
però anche in tocario, è la perdita dei suffissi ie. per la formazione di
comparativo è superlativo [88]. In arm. l'idea di comparativo e espressa
col grado positivo dell'aggettivo (cayr k'an zis 'più alto di me'), e solo
in un secondo tempo l'influsso iranico conduce la lingua a rifare un
suffisso di comparativo mediante l'elemento di derivazione iranica -
goyn (cayragoyn 'più alto'): anche in itt. l'idea di comparativo è
espressa mediante l'uso del grado positivo: leggermente diverso, ri-
spetto all'arm., è solamente il modo di esprimere il termine di para-
gone nu = wa = kan ANA ERÍN^{MES}-KA ERÍN^{MES}-YA mekki 'rispetto alla
tua fanteria la mia fanteria è grande =   la mia fanteria è più grande
della tua').

Altre interessanti concordanze si trovano nella declinazione pro-
nominale. Già Meillet [69] richiama la somiglianza fra i genitivi pro-
nominali armeni con *-r (nora 'eius', oyr 'cuius', ecc.) e i corrispon-
denti genitivi ittiti in *l (twel 'tui'; kwel 'cuius'). La cosa non è senza
difficoltà, perché in genere la distinzione fra *l e *r é netta in en-
trambe le lingue, ed anzi in arm. é piu forte se mai la tendenza a sosti-
tuire l'antica *r con l che non il contrario (cfr. astl 'stella': gr. ἀστήρ:
albiwr 'pozzo, fonte': gr. φρέαρ, ecc.), tu tavia l'ipotesi è seducente [70].

Una perfetta coincidenza fra armeno, ittita e greco si ha
nell'accusativo singolare del pronome di prima persona. Itt. ammuk
(lic. emu, amu, lid amu) muove da *eme-ĝe attraverso *ame-k(a), con
u per analogia di uk 'ego', tuk 'te' [71]. L'identitâ con gr. ἔμε-γε è perfetta.
Ma anche arm. is muove da *eme-ĝe: infatti -s può venire da *ĝ in fine
di parola (come es 'io' da *eĝo) e *eme-ĝe può aver dato is attraverso
*imc, *ims, *ins e infine is [72]. La protesi vocalica alla rad. *me o simili
delle altre lingue ie. si ritrova anche nell'albanese im [73].

Anche nel sistema verbale sono state notate numerose coincidenze tra arm. e itt.

La desinenza armena di imperativo -ǰir, plur. -ǰik', che muove, come spiega Meillet [74], da *-dhi-, o meglio *-dhy-, con l'aggiunta di una -r non chiara, si trova pure nel gr. -θι e nell'itt. -ti, informe quali tet 'narra!', arnut 'porta!' (la caduta di -i è dovuta all' analogia di forme atematiche quali ep 'prendi!', et 'mangia!'[75]. Si tratta comunque di un'isoglossa di conservazione, poiché -dhi si ritrova anche in altre zone indeuropee, come l'indo-iranico (ihi 'va!' del scr., zdî 'sii!' del gath.) e il baltico (duod 'dà!' del lit.): essa appare quindi poco probante.

Un'altra isoglossa di conservazione è l'uso (anche questo esteso ed anzi notevolmente vitale in greco) del raddoppiamento cosiddetto "attico" delle radici inizianti per vocale: anche questo fenomeno ha paralleli in indo-iranico[76].

Un'isoglossa di innovazione, ma troppo ampia perché le si possa dare un certo rilievo, è quella costituita dall' ampliamento con *r dell'antica desinenza secondaria di terza persona singolare in *-to. In itt. abbiamo forme come iyattari 'egli va' accanto a iyatta, kittari 'giace, κεῖται', ecc.: si tratta di forme con *-tor ulteriormente ampliato con -i secondo il paradigma dell'attivo. In armeno berēr riposa forse su *bheretor: questo è usato come attivo per via del completo rimaneggiamento dell'opposizione attivo-medio nel sistema verbale armeno e della generale caduta delle desinenze mediali indeuropee[77]. L'innovazione si riscontra ache in frigio, in forme come αββερετορ''' 'αδδακετορ. Ma innovazioni analoghe si trovano in latino (in itur si ha un ampliamento in -r della desinenza mediale, passata dalle desinenze secondarie a quelle primarie, -to), in osco-umbro, nelle lingue celtiche, ecc.

L'armeno, come il greco e l'ittita, ha sviluppato dei verbi tematici sulla base dell'antica classe di temi con infisso nasale: cfr. itt. walhannai 'egli percuote', gr. λιμπάνω, arm. elanem 'vado'. Le formazioni, simili nell'aspetto generale, non coincidono del tutto nei particolari[78]. Un'altra isomorfa tra ittita, armeno, tocario e greco è costituita dalla possibilità di ampliare con -n- temi di presente in *-sk-: cfr. i causativi arm. in -uc'anem (c'uc' anem 'io mostro') e i presenti gr. come 'οφλισκάνω; in itt. e toc. si preferisce alla sequela *-sk-n quella *-n-sk-: cfr. itt. walhaneskitsi, toc. aunaskentär. Formazioni simili sono forse anche quelle di lat. frūnîscor e conquinîscō[79].

Ma un ultimo elemento sul quale vorremmo attirare l'attenzione è il perfetto parallelismo esistente in itt., gr. e arm. nell'uso del suf-

fisso formatore di presenti *-sk̂-. Abbiamo infatti in tutte e tre le lingue:

1. un gruppo di forme con suffisso *-sk̂- ereditate dall'ie.: arm. harc'anem 'io chiedo' (‹ *pr̥k̂-sk̂-   ampliamento in nasale: cfr. scr. pr̥cchati, lat. poscō, asl. prositi, aated. forscon), gr. βάσκω (‹ *gʷm̥-sk̂-: cfr. scr. gacchati), itt. arske- 'muovere' (cfr. scr. r̥cchati 'egli ottiene').

2. un gruppo di presenti in cui *-sk̂- è aggiunto secondariamente per completare il paradigma di radici che avevano in origine valore aoristale: cfr. gr. θνήσκω e, con ulteriore carratterizzazione del raddoppiamento, διδράσκω, πιπίσκω ; itt. taske- 'prendere' con ta- ‹ *dō-, in origine tema-radice d'aoristo, come mostrano anche i paradigmi greco e indiano; arm. (con ulteriore ampliamento -y- del suffisso) t'ak'č'im 'io mi nascondo' per l'aoristo t'ak'eay, p'axč' im 'fuggo' per l'aoristo p'axeay. Per la formazione con *sk̂y- Meillet richiama alcune forme greche come ἐγρήσσω e δεδίττομαι[80].

3. infine la semantizzazione del suffisso (che serve a indicare azione durativa-iterativa) e la sua estensione aldifuori del sistema del presente[81]. In ittita questa formazione appare molto produttiva e viene usata anche con temi verbali tipicamente anatolici: cfr. paiska- 'andare' ‹ pai-/pe- (estratto dalla terza persona plurale del presente indicativo pantsi, questo a sua volta da *payantsi 'essi vanno', formato dal preverbo po- e dalla rad. *ya- 'andare'), akkuske- 'bere' da aki-/eku-, seske- 'dormire' da ses-, ecc. Naturalmente, una volta conferito a questo suffisso un valore durativo, la stessa sfumatura viene data anche a temi che hanno *-sk̂- ereditato dall'ie.: p.es. uske- 'vedere' (identico per formazione a scr. ucchati 'egli risplende')[82] assume senso iterativo e viene creata un'opposizione secondaria col nuovo presente uhhi (luv. awimi) 'vedo'; analogamente accanto a taske- si crea tahhi 'io prendo'. Fatti analoghi avvengono in greco: la lingua epica ed Erodoto conservano un discreto numero di casi in cui il suffisso, aggiunto a temi d'imperfetto o di aoristo, conferisce alla forma verbale (sempre senz'aumento) un valore iterativo, e anche al presente numerosi temi ampliati con questo suffisso assumono valore iterativo-durativo[83]. L'armeno si serve del suffisso *-sk̂-, aggiungendolo nella forma *-sk̂- a temi del presente[84], specializzando poi i due temi di presente cosi ottenuti e impiegando le forme ampliate in -isk- come congiuntivi [85]. Inoltre *-sk- è anche servito per formare temi d'aoristo ai verbi che non possedevano temi d'aoristo radicali, come luac'i rispetto a luanam 'io lavo', lci (terza singolare elic') da lnum 'io riempio'. Questa formazione appare largamente vitale e produttiva in armeno: su di essa si costruiscono spesso dei participî in -eal (cfr. asac 'eal 'avendo detto'

sull'aor. *asac'i*: presente *asem* 'io dico'). Un altro impiego del suffisso si trova nel congiuntivo aoristo con forme tipo *beric'* ‹ **bher-i-sk*; negli aoristi in *-c'* si viene ad avere un doppio impiego del suffisso, con forme quali *gorcec'ic'* ‹ **worĝeskisk-*. Quest'uso è assai importante, perché successivamente queste voci assumeranno senso di futuro, colmando così una lacuna che il sistema verbale armeno aveva dopo il rimaneggiamento quasi totale della situazione originaria.

Tutte queste concordanze fra armeno e lingue dell'Anatolia non sono sufficienti per far pensare a una speciale affinità fra loro. Si deve sgombrare la mente da qualsiasi riferimento di tipo "genealogico": qualunque idea si abbia dell'indeuropeo originario, armeno e ittita sembrano assai diversi, rimontano a zone dialettali lontane fra loro e hanno avuto storie assai differenti. Tutte le loro isoglosse e isomorfe si sono formate e sviluppate in territorio anatolico. Esse però, oltre ad avere l'importanza storica a cui abbiamo già accennato, ci fanno anche intravedere la complessità di vicende e di influssi che hanno portato alla formazione della lingua armena: l'analisi delle sue forme e del suo lessico, nelle fasi più antiche a cui la ricostruzione ci consente di giungere, accennano a un'estrema varietà di elementi la cui valutazione deve tenere conto di stratificazioni linguistiche quanto mai varie. Il fondo più antico dell'armeno è probabilmente da vedersi in quel nucleo di isoglosse che lo collegano, per una serie di fatti assai importanti, col greco e altre lingue dell'unità indeuropea "danubiana" e fanno dell'armeno una prosecuzione dell'antico gruppo linguistico traco-frigio[66]. Gli studi più recenti hanno anche rilevato scambi e influenze rispetto ai progenitori degli Indo-iranici, scambi che sarebbero avvenuti a Nord del mar Nero prima del 1500 a.C. e che hanno consentito all'armeno di accogliere nel suo lessico una serie di termini appartenenti al vocabolario poetico dell' indeuropeo[67]. Altrettanto netti sono gli elementi che collegano l'armeno con le lingue della penisola Balcanica, da svolgimenti fonetici paralleli (come nel caso dei dittonghi) a scelte sintattiche (come la postposizione dell'articolo al nome, che si ha anche in albanese, e, come fatto di sostrato, in bulgaro e rumeno) ad antichissimi relitti lessicali[68]. Sulla comunanza fra Armeni e Frigi, che insieme avrebbero valicato il mare per penetrare nell'Asia minore, hanno parlato spesso gli antichi, a partire da Erodoto: i moderni sono assai divisi sul problema di questa connessione[69]; certo gli antichi possono essersi basati su fatti positivi, anche extralinguistici, a noi magari ignoti: questo impone una grande prudenza nel respingerne le affermazioni. In séguito troviamo una serie di isoglosse con le lingue dell' Anatolia, che accennano a un pas-

saggio dei Pre-armeni in questa penisola, punto d'incontro di civiltà diversissime. Infine, attorno al VI sec.a.C. il raggiungimento della sede storica e la fusione con gli Urartei: sulla reciproca interferenza fra armeno e urarteo è difficile pronunziarsi, essendoci nota questa lingua in maniera ancora imprecisa e provvisoria. Emerge con ciò una storia precisa e un itinerario dalla primitiva sede "indeuropea" alle sedi del Caucaso[90]. Si tratta di una serie di dati certo da approfondire e da esaminare con cura prima di emettere qualsiasi giudizio definitivo, ma che già ora si pronunziano in favore della venuta degli Armeni da occidente, attraverso l'Anatolia, anziché da oriente, attraverso il Caucaso, come altri studiosi hanno pensato[91].

FOOTNOTES

[1] G.R. SOLTA, *Sprache*, pag. 127; la definizione di BARTOLI si trova in AGI 34, pag. 1.

[2] "L'arménien est à la fois la langue qui a conservé du type indoeuropéen les archaïsmes les plus singuliers et la langue qui a plus bousculé ce typé" (L. MARIÈS, REA 10, pag. 170). Cfr. anche G. BOLOGNESI, *La lingua armena*, in "Ricerca sull'architettura armena. Corso di cultura armena I", Milano 1979, pag. 43-44.

[3] Sulla questione si v. R. SCHMITT, *Von Bopp bis Hübschmann; Das Armenische als indogermanische Sprache*, KZ 89, pag. 3 segg.

[4] G.R. SOLTA, *Stellung*, pag. 471 e n. 1.

[5] G. DEVOTO, *Le origini indoeuropee*, Firenze 1962, pag. 400.

[6] J. FRIEDRICH, *Hethitisch und "kleinasiatische" in Sprachen*, in *Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, dir. da W. STREITBERG, Bd. 5, Lief. 1, Berlin-Leipzig 1931, pag. 40 segg. L'unica connessione sicura tra arm. e itt secondo Friedrich è quella rilevata da JENSEN (ZA, NF 2, pag. 82) che confronta arm. *išxan* 'principe' con itt. *ishas* 'signore'.

[7] HA 38, pag. 453 e segg.; si vedano anche le osservazioni di J. FRIEDRICH, loc. cit.

[8] T. SCHULTHEISS, *Hethitisch und Armenisch*, KZ 77, pag. 219 segg.

[9] N. MKRTSCHJAN, *Neue hethitisch-armenische lexikalische Parallelen*, AAntH 22, pag. 313 e segg.

[10] J.A.C. GREPPIN, *Hitt. -z(a), Arm. z- and the Theory of Armeno-Hittite Loanwords*, JIES 3, pag. 87 e segg. (riferisce anche sullo *status quaestionis*). Vedi anche il recente *Luwian Elements in Armenian*, "Drevnij Vostok" 3, 1978, pag. 115 e segg.

[11] H. PEDERSEN, *Lykisch und Hittitisch*, København 1949², pag. 5.

[12] W.M. AUSTIN, *Is Armenian an Anatolian Language?*, Language 18, pag. 22 e segg. Sull'argomento è ritornato anche A. CUNY, *L'hypothèse anatolienne pour l'arménien*, REIE 4, pag. 34 segg.

[13] S. BUGGE, *Lykische Studien I* = Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter hist.-phil. Kl. 1897, Christiania, nr. 7.

[14] La quarta concordanza indicata da Austin è l'evoluzione di arm. *p- › h- in inizio di parola: con simile svolgimento richiama hri ‹ *pri in licio. Questa possibilità è dubbia, perché lic. hri è da far risalire al luv. sarri.

[15] R. GUSMANI, A proposito del passaggio s › h in iranico, greco, ecc., AGI 57, pag. 10 segg. (in particolare 16-19).

[16] G.B. JAHUKYAN, Die Bedeutung der ersten (indogermanischen) und der zweiten (inner-armenischen) Palatisierung für die Konstituierung des armenischen Konsonanten-Systems, KZ 89, pag. 31 segg. Sui diversi centri di assibilazione delle palatali cfr. T. BOLELLI in SeSL 8, pag. 5. Anche E. PORZIG, Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets, Heidelberg 1954, pag. 188, afferma che le isoglosse ittito-armene non rimandano a periodi preistorici.

[17] Tra la vasta bibliografia segnaliamo: P. MERIGGI, Der Indogermanismus des Lykischen, Festschrift H. Hirt, II (1936) pag. 257 segg.; R. GUSMANI, Forme satem nella penisola anatolica, in Studia classica et orientalia A. Pagliaro oblata, II (Roma 1969) pag. 306 segg.; H. KRONASSER, Le lingue microasiatiche di tipo indeuropeo, in Indeuropeo e Protostoria, Atti del III Convegno dei Linguisti, Milano 1961, particolarm. pag. 97 segg. (per il frigio); e l'ulteriore bibliografia cui questi scritti rinviano. Generalmente sfavorevole all'ipotesi di forme satem in Anatolia è O. SZEMERÉNYI, The Problem of Arian Loanwords in Anatolian, Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante, Brescia 1976, pag. 1063 e segg.

[18] Cfr. forme come ἀζαθᾶς per ἀγαθῆς, ecc. Si v. A. THUMB, A. SCHERER, Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte, II, Heidelberg 1959, pag. 161; per un'ampia valutazione del fatto cfr. V. PISANI, Storia della lingua greca (vol. V dell'Enciclopedia classica), Torino 1959, pag. 20 segg.; inoltre dello scrivente Questioni di fonetica greca, § 3 (in corso di stampa su Aevum, vol. 54, 1980, fasc. 1).

[19] G. BONFANTE, La position du hittite parmi les langues indoeuropéennes, IF 52, pag. 221 segg.; IF 55, pag. 131 segg.; RBPhH 18, pag. 381 segg.: le conclusioni sono ricavate in quest'ultimo articolo.

[20] G. DEVOTO, Le origini indoeuropee, cit., pag. 342 segg.; 376 segg.; G.R. SOLTA, Stellung, pag. 483 seg.

[21] V. PISANI, Storia della lingua greca cit., pag. 20 e segg.; cfr. anche dello stesso Die Entzifferung der aegäischen Linear B Schrift und die griechischen Dialekte, RhM 98, pag. 1 segg.

[22] Cfr. più avanti, n. 56.

[23] F. SOMMER, Hethiter und Hethitisch, Stuttgart 1947, pag. 97 segg.

[24] A. MEILLET, Esquisse, pag. 12; inoltre REA 1, pag. 456 "L'arménien est, dans une large mesure, un parler indo-européen adopté par des populations de langue caucasique"; cfr. anche Les dialectes indo-européens, Paris 1922, pag. 92 e segg. e n. pag. 138.

[25] HUEBSCHMANN, AG pag. 397, indica solo due imprestiti georgiani in armeno; sulla questione degli influssi caucasici in arm., accertabili solo in fasi linguistiche recenti, si vedano le importanti osservazioni di metodo di H. VOGT, Arménien et géorgien, HA 1961, col. 531 segg.: compito degli studiosi non dovrebbe essere quello di assumere come punto di partenza il georgiano attuale, bensì le fasi preistoriche di questa lingua, mettendole a confronto con gli elementi non indeuropei dell'arm. Tra le parole iraniche penetrate in georgiano attraverso l'arm. citiamo: georg. kerpi 'immagine di idolo' da arm. hraparak 'tribunale' (da iran. *frapāδak), ecc. Cfr. G. DEETERS, pag. 35. Elementi caucasici si tenta oggi di ravvisare nei fatti comuni ad arm. e osseto che sfuggono a un'analisi "indeuropea": su questa strada si è posto in modo particolare V.I.

ABAEV, *Tipologija armjanskogo i osetinskogo jazyka i kavkazij substrat*, in "Sprache und Gesellschaft", *Festschrift G. Pätsch*, Jena 1970, pag. 16 segg.

[26] Sul genere grammaticale nelle lingue caucasiche cfr. G. DEETERS, pag. 46-51; circa l'importanza del genere grammaticale e la sua origine si v., per una prima informazione, C. TAGLIAVINI, *Introduzione alla glottologia*, vol. II, Bologna 1969[7], pag. 183 segg., dove si trova anche un'abbondante bibliografia sull'argomento.

[27] Cfr. K.H. SCHMIDT, *Ossetisch und Armenisch*, in *Antiquitates Indogermanicae, Festschrift H. Güntert*, pag. 391 segg.

[28] Sui problemi e le incertezze nell'interpretazione dell'urarteo e dello hurrico si v. J. FRIEDRICH, *Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen*, trad. ital. (col titolo *Decifrazione delle scritture scomparse*), Firenze 1973, pag. 90 segg. Sembra oggi sicura, sulla base degli elementi noti, una connessione fra hurrico e urarteo: vano è però il tentativo di Th. KLUGE di vedere in queste delle lingue caucasiche (*Studien zur vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft der kaukasischen Sprachen: I, Die Sprache der urartäischen Inschriften und ihre Stellung im kaukasischen Sprachenkreise*, MVAG 1907, pag. 5 segg.). Analoghi tentativi operati nei confronti del hattico hanno sollevato analoghe perplessità: cfr. LAROCHE, RA 41, pag. 70 segg.; J. FRIEDRICH, ZDMG 88 (= NF 13), pag. 289 segg., ecc.

[29] G.R. SOLTA, *Sprache*, pag. 90: una lista completa di queste parole con *a* in Ch. BARTHOLOMAE, BB 17, pag. 103 segg. Vana è l'ipotesi di BARTHOLOMAE stesso che esistessero due diverse *o* brevi nell'ie. Secondo H. PEDERSEN (KZ 36, pag. 99 segg.), poiché ie. *o > arm. *a* quasi sempre in inizio di parola, si dovrebbe concludere che in ie. *o era pronunziato più aperto in questa posizione. L'ipotesi è molto fragile.

[30] A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 41.

[31] Sulla relativa recenziorità di questi sviluppi *o > *a* ittiti e *o, e> *a* luvio si pronunzia anche O. CARRUBA, *Anatolico e indoeuropeo, Scritti in onore di G. Bonfante*, Brescia 1977, pag. 121 segg.

[32] A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 83.

[33] Le varianti dialettali greche (beot. βε-, cret. δε-) permettono di ricostruire un'antica forma con labiovelare iniziale *g^{u}ebhurya: cfr. H. FRISK, GEW, I, pag. 302 seg.; E. SCHWYZER, *Griech. Gramm.* I, pag. 298 e 301 per tentativi di spiegazioni fonetiche della delabializzazione di *g^u- in g- nella forma ionica. Nonostante il rifiuto di HUEBSCHMANN, AG pag. 457, la concordanza greco-armena di queste forme non può essere dovuta al caso: tantomeno la parola può provenire da lingue non indeuropee. Secondo MEILLET questo termine rappresenta la parola indeuropea originaria per 'ponte', sostituita da innovazioni in vari altri dialetti (lat. *pōns* originariamente 'strada'; av. *pərəθuš* o riginariamente 'passaggio'; ecc.), mentre le irregolarità delle corrispondenze fonetiche sarebbero dovute a variazioni tabuistiche (A. MEILLET in BSL 22, pag. 17; cfr. anche G.R. SOLTA, *Stellung*, pag. 424). Su questa parola si cfr. ultimamente J. KNOBLOCH, *Die Brücke - eine griechiesch-armenische Isoglosse?*, KZ 89, pag. 76 segg. Sulla variazione *m/w* dell'arm. cfr. più avanti.

[34] A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 38.

[35] La glossa ἀρμὰν˙ τὸν πόλεμον è data dall'*Etymol. Magnum*; l'etimologia (< *sermān*, cfr. scr. *sarati* 'egli gareggia') è proposta da R. GUSMANI, *Studi Frigi*, Rendic. dell'Istituto Lombardo 92, pag. 851. Sul passaggio di *e ad a in frigio dinanzi a r cfr. anche, dello stesso GUSMANI, le osservazioni in Rendic. Ist. Lomb. 93, pag. 18.

[36] Tràdite rispettivamente γέλαρος˙ ἀδελφοῦ γυνή H. e γάλλαρος˙ Φρυγιακὸν ὄνομα; la correzione è proposta da HERMANN in KZ 50, pag. 304; sulla confusione fra ē

ed ā cfr. ibid. pag. 307.

[37] Potrebbero essere chiamati in causa anche fatti di sostrato: il lat. ha talora confusione di a/o, come in aures risp. alla rad. ie. *ous- presupposta da tutte le altre lingue (IEW 785), viceversa caverna e lavare con -av- anziché *-ov- testimoniato da altre lingue, ecc.; anche incertezze fra a/e non sono infrequenti: magnus (cfr. con *e got. mikils, gr. μέγας, arm. mec); quattuor; gradior; ecc. Si v. V. PISANI, Grammatica latina storica e comparativa, Torino 1962, pag. 36. Fatti analoghi si osservano anche in etrusco.

[38] Cfr. KRONASSER, pag. 41. Un fenomeno analogo nel hurrico: cfr. astu 'donna' risp. al corrispondente aggettivo astihhi.

[39] Cfr. A. ADJARIAN, Classification des dialectes arméniens, Paris 1909, pag. 15 e 44.

[40] L'accostamento della parola indiana è messo in dubbio da M. MAYRHOFER, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörtenbuch des Altindischen, I pag. 181; sulla questione si v. anche P. CHANTRAINE, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, I, pag. 487.

[41] Cfr. G.R. SOLTA, Sprache, pag. 91 e V. PISANI in Mélanges Henri Grégoire II, Bruxelles 1950, pag. 523 segg.

[42] A. MEILLET, Esquisse, pag. 44 e, fondamentalmente, G. BOLOGNESI, Sul vocalismo degli imprestiti iranici in armeno, RL 2, pag. 141 segg.

[43] KRONASSER, pag. 117 segg.; H. PEDERSEN, Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen, København 1938, pag. 47 segg.; IEW, pag. 784.

[44] H. VOGT, Zur Vorgeschichte der armenischen Sprache, HA 1961, col. 563 segg. (in particolare 600-602).

[45] Tentativi di individuare in greco parole con r- originario hanno dato esito poco convincente: cfr. M. LEJEUNE, Traité de phonétique grecque et mycénienne, Paris 1972², pag. 148-150.

[46] A. MEILLET, Esquisse, pag. 32. Sui rapporti fra protesi e metatesi si v. M. GRAMMONT, La métatèse [sic] en arménien, Mélanges de Linguistique offerts à F. de Saussure, Paris 1908, pag. 229 segg. (in particolare 237-8). Inoltre, se è esatta l'ipotesi che ie. *dw- abbia come esito in arm. erk- (A. MEILLET, Esquisse, pag. 51 e REA 4, pag. 1 segg.; G.R. SOLTA, Sprache, pag. 100; H. FRISK, Etyma armeniaca, Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift, 50, pag. 11 segg.), la protesi vocalica dinanzi a r- sarebbe successiva anche a questo esito particolare. Si vedano però le obiezioni di V. PISANI in RL 2, pag. 54.

[47] Si è tentato di vedere in questo rifiuto della r- iniziale di parola un riaffiorare di abitudini fonetiche tipiche del sostrato mediterraneo. Anche i prestiti latini in basco inizianti con r- sono provvisti di una protesi vocalica: cfr. b. errege‹ lat. rege(m). Nei dialetti provenzali di Guascogna la r- latina è pronunziata con una particolare forza e provvista di una a- protetica: arrat e arrasim = franc. rat e raisin. Sulla protesi dinanzi a r- in greco si v. E. SCHWYZER, Griech. Gramm. I, pag. 411 e la bibliografia cui ivi si rimanda; protesi vocaliche dinanzi a r- si trovano anche in turco popolare e in alcune lingue ugro-finniche (cfr. G. MEYER, Türkische Studien, WienAkSb 128, pag. 17 segg.). Non è pertanto convincente l'ipotesi di E. BENVENISTE (Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes, trad. ital. Torino 1976, II, pag. 292) che in questi casi ittita, greco e armeno abbiano continuato la situazione originaria dell'indeuropeo, che rifiuta r- iniziale di parola: si deve sicuramente vedere in queste lingue la penetrazione di abitudini fonetiche diverse da quelle indeuropee originarie, che ammettono *r- in iniziale assoluta di parola, come numerosissimi esempi indicano.

[48]H. STURTEVANT, *Gramm.* pag. 23. Obiezioni e bibliografia sull'argomento in A. KAMMENHUBER, *Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch and Hieroglyphenluwisch,* in *Hand-buch der Orientalistik,* I, I, 2, Leiden-Köln 1969, pag. 137. Il materiale è raccolto fonda-mentalmente in H. KRONASSER, *Etymologie der Hethitischen Sprache,* I, Wiesbaden 1966, pag. 81 e segg. Che non si abbia a che fare con un fenomeno puramente grafico, bensì con un'abitudine fonetica largamente estesa, potrebbero provare le analoghe tes-timonianze di debolezza di *m* e di suo scambio con *w* in babilonese (p.es. *awatu* in luogo di *amâtu* 'parola, ordine') oppure di completa caduta (*Dammuzu* diviene *da-u-zu*); inoltre in elamitico nomi persiani con *v* vengono trascritti con *m* (*Misdasba* per pers. *Vistaspa; Harrima* per pers. *Haraiva*: cfr. assiro *Ariemu*).

[49]Con procedimento inverso *kamurf* 'ponte' per **kew-* (cfr. sopra, n. 33).

[50]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse,* pag. 48.

[52]Per una introduzione all'argomento si v. l'agile trattato di F. O. LINDEMAN, *Ein-führung in die Laryngaltheorie,* Berlin 1970 (in particolare per l'arm. § 21, Anm., pag. 30). Inoltre E. POLOMÉ, *Reflexes de laryngales en arménien, Mélanges Henri Grégoire* II, Bruxelles 1950, pag. 539 segg.; IV, Bruxelles 1952, pag. 669 segg.; G. R. SOLTA, *Sprache,* pag. 98 e n. 1. Un ampio esame del problema con ricca bibliografia è quello di G. C. VINCENZI, *Le laringali,* Estratto da F. DE SAUSSURE, *Saggio sul vocalismo in-deuropeo,* Ediz. italiana, Bologna 1978.

[52]E. RISCH, MH 1, pag. 118 segg.; *IEW,* pag. 89.

[53]W. M. AUSTIN, art. cit. (nella n. 12).

[54]E. SCHWYZER, *Griech. Gramm.,* I. pag. 304 segg.; M. LEJEUNE, op. cit. nella n. 45, pag. 280 segg.

[55]Questi *h-* armeni, siano essi secondari oppure continuazione di **p-. *s-* originari, hanno articolazione particolarmente debole e cadono di solito in interno di parola: cfr. *hototem* con. raddoppiamento da *hot* 'odore'; *jernat* 'monco' composto con la rad. di *hatem; yet* 'dopo' da **y-het* ecc. (A. MEILLET, *Esquisse,* pag. 38).

[56]V. PISANI, *Questioni ittite,* in *Mantissa,* Brescia 1972, pag. 367-9.

[57]A. KAMMENHUBER, *Das Hattische,* in *Handbuch der Orientalistik,* I, VII, cit. pag. 459 segg.; H. KRONASSER, pag. 153.

[58]Segno evidente che si tratta di un fenomeno ancora in fase di svolgimento nella documentazione più antica di queste lingue. -Un'analoga estensione dell'originaria de-sinenza di genitivo singolare alla funzione di genitivo plurale si trova nel tocario -*is*. La valutazione di questa concordanza tocario-ittita (forse soltanto apparente) è però com-plessa: cfr. H. PEDERSEN, *Tocharisch vom Gesichtspunkt der indogermanischen Sprachvergleichung,* København 1941, pag. 46 segg.

[59]Così avviene in luvio, ittita geroglifico e licio con gli aggettivi di appartenenza in -*assi-/-asa-;* in luvio l'innovazione si è estesa fino al punto di eliminare quasi del tutto l'antico genitivo, conservato p.es in (*hir*)*utas EN-aš* 'des Heides Herr'. Cfr. A. KAM-MENHUBER, op. cit. (nella n. 48), pag. 272 segg.

[60]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse,* pag. 71.

[60]V. PISANI, *Zam armenischen Pluralzeichen -k',* KZ 89, pag. 94 segg. A un'origine non indeuropea (georgiana) aveva già pensato nel 1902 SCHUCHARDT, WZKM 16, pag. 304 segg.

[62]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse,* pag. 73. Cfr. anche G. R. SOLTA, *Sprache,* pag. 91, che considera -*oy* del genitivo e ablativo singolare dei temi in -*o* provenienti da una sola

forma e ritiene comunque di secondario interesse la questione.

[63]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 33.

[64]H. STURTEVANT, *Gramm.*, pag. 88 segg.; l'ipotesi era già stata proposta nel 1932 in Lg 1, pag. 1 segg. Se ne veda l'ampia discussione e la ulteriore bibliografia in H. KRONASSER, Bemerkungen al § 118 pag. 248; A. KAMMENHUBER, op. cit. (nella n. 48) pag. 302 segg.

[65]H. KRONASSER, pag. 102 segg.

[66]W. M. AUSTIN, art. cit., pag. 23.

[67]G. BONFANTE, RBPhH 18, pag. 381 segg.; cfr. anche H. KRONASSER, pag. 118 segg.; G. R. SOLTA, *Sprache*, pag. 108.

[68]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 99; H. KRONASSER, pag. 138.

[69]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, *page. 87*.

[70]L'uso di -*l* è comunque un anatolismo: suffissi in -*l* hanno una grande importanza in hattico come formatori di aggettivi di appartenenza (*antuh* 'essere umano', *antuhil* 'umano'), la cui somiglianza con le forme di genitivo, da un punto di vista funzionale, è già stata notata. Anche in etrusco si trovano formazioni genetivali con -*l*. Si potrebbe pertanto pensare anche qui all'affiorare di fatti di sostrato?

[71]H. KRONASSER, pag. 140 e segg. Anche in tocario ñuk 'ego' con vocalismo in u.

[72]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 57. Qualche perplessità mostra G. R. SOLTA in *Sprache*, pag. 114.

[73]G. BONFANTE, IF 55, pag. 131 segg.

[74]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 121.

[75]H. KRONASSER, pag. 208.

[76]G. BONFANTE, RBPhH 18, pag. 381 segg.; cfr. anche E. SCHWYZER, *Griech. Gramm.* I, pag. 646 e 766; A. MEILLET, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, Alabama U.P. 1964[9] (ristampa anastatica dell'ottava edizione, Paris 1937), pag. 182.

[77]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 127; REA 6, pag. 335 segg. Obiezioni a questa spiegazione e ampia bibliografia in G.R. SOLTA, *Sprache*, pag. 121 segg.

[78]G. BONFANTE, RBPhH 18, pag. 381 segg.

[79]Cfr. G.R. SOLTA, *Sprache*, pag. 118; WALDE-HOFMANN, *LEW*, s.v.

[80]A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 109. Per un'ampia spiegazione (da un punto di vista sincronico) del valore semantico assunto dai temi verbali in armeno classico si v. F. FEYDIT, *Cahiers de grammaire arménienne* II (*Le système du verbe arménien*), extr. de la Revue Bazmavep, Venezia 1969, particolarm. pag. 17 segg. (dell'estr.).

[81]Il suffisso *-sk- è stato utilizzato anche in tocario B per la formazione dei causativi: cfr. KRAUSE-THOMAS, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1960, pag. 209 segg.; si v. anche W. COUVREUR, *Les dérivés verbaux en *ske/o du hittite et du tocharien*, REIE 1, pag. 89 segg. Come gia si è detto, anche in arm. l'unione del suffisso *-sk- e del suffisso -n- è stata utilizzata come formazione dei causativi. Cfr. sopra e n. 79.

[82]H. KRONASSER, pag. 191. Il verbo ittita non è riportato dall' *IEW*, nell'elenco dei derivati dalla rad. ie. *awes-* (pag. 86-7).

[83]Cfr. A. GIACALONE RAMAT, *La funzione del suffisso -ΣΚ nel sistema verabole*

greco, AGI 52, pag. 105 segg. (in particolare 112-3).

[84]Cfr. A. MEILLET, *Esquisse*, pag. 121. E' però difficilmente condivisibile l'ipotesi che *sk̂* venga aggiunto ad antiche forme di ottativo, sia perché *bherei-* non corrisponde a gr. φεροι- sia perché le altre forme tematiche (*goyc'em* da *gom* 'io sono' e *arnuc'um* da *aṙnum* 'io prendo') rifiutano perentoriamente una spiegazione simile: infatti sia *oy* (come in *goyc'em*) sia *uy* (in *arnuc'um*), se fossero antichi, avrebbero dato come esito -*oy*- (cfr. ancora alla terza persona sing. dell' imperfetto *goyr* come *arnoyr*, con -*y*- secondario da *-t-!*), ridotto a -*u*- in sillaba atona. Si tratta pertanto della giustapposizione recente di -*i*-, appartenente al suffisso, alle forme tematiche del presente. G.R. SOLTA (*Sprache*, pag. 120) pensa all'aggiunta di *ic'em*, congiunt, di *em* 'io sono' alle forme del presente: *ic'em* a sua volta corrisponderebbe formalmente al lat. arc. *escit* 'erit'. E' più semplice forse pensare a una forma di suffisso -*isk̂*-, quale si trova in gr. εὑρ-ίσκω; θνή-ισκω; ecc.), lat. (*experg-īscor*), avestico ecc.

[85]Un parallelo tra l'uso armeno di queste forme in -*sk̂*- e alcuni impieghi ittiti di temi analogamente ampliati è citato da W.M. AUSTIN, art. cit. (nella n. 12).

[86]Per il termine "danubiano" si v. G. DEVOTO, *Origini indoeuropee*, Firenze 1962, pag. 387.

[87]W. PORZIG, op. cit., pag. 153.

[88]Interessante l'ipotesi di G. REICHENKRON (riportata in Fr. ALTHEIM, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*, Frankfurt 1951, pag. 62 n. 2) che si possa cercare una connessione fra parole armene di etimologia ignota e parole rumene altrettanto inspiegate. Si v. anche più avanti, n. 91, l'articolo cit. di J.A.C. Greppin. A elementi balcanici nell'arm. accenna anche V. GEORGIEV, *Introduzione alla storia del le lingue indoeuropee*, Roma 1966, pag. 169. Sulle isoglosse armeno-albanesi si v. V. PISANI in RL 1, pag. 192 seg., con ulteriori rimandi. Tuttavia molte isoglosse lessicali che raggruppano, oltre albanese e armeno, anche altre lingue come il tocario o il greco (se ne veda un elenco in G.R. SOLTA, *Stellung*, pag. 477), possono essere antiche e anteriori alla stessa diaspora indeuropea.

[89]Sul senso che si può dare alle notizie (pressoché unanimi) degli storici antichi, sulla possibilità che diverse ondate di popolazioni "frigio-armene" siano penetrate in periodi successivi in Anatolia, e sul problema generale dell'etnogenesi arm. si vedano le osservazioni di W. BRANDENSTEIN, *Der Ursprung der Armenier*, HA 1961, col. 685 segg. (con qualche ipotesi non del tutto sicura); inoltre W. BĂNĂTEANU, *Probleme ale etnogenezei armene*, *Studii si cercetări lingvistice* 12, pag. 375 segg. La connessione frigio-armena è oggi generalmente rifiutata dai linguisti: positivamente si pronunzia su di essa G. BONFANTE, Armenian Quarterly 1, pag. 82 segg. La notizia degli storici antichi (e innanzitutto di ERODOTO, VII 73) che i Frigi avrebbero mutato sede passando dalla penisola balcanica all'Anatolia insieme con gli Armeni trova appoggio nei relitti balcanici riaffioranti nell'onomastica dell'Asia Minore (toponimi in -*ura*, -*ula*, -*io*, ecc.): cfr. R. GUSMANI, *Studii Frigi* cit., 2, pag. 17 segg.

[90]Questo itinerario nella sua parte finale sembrerebbe provato dalla dislocazione dei toponimi inizianti per *Armen-* o simili: p.es. 'Αρμένιοι citta della Tessaglia (STRAB. XI 503), un toponimo 'Ορμένιον nella stessa zona (HOM. B 734), un monte 'Ορμίνιον in Bitinia. Cfr. W. BRANDENSTEIN, art. cit. (nella n. 89), col. 694; G.R. SOLTA, *Sprache*, pag. 80 e n. 5.

[91]"Die Armenien wohnen in Armenien, dem alten Urartu, erst seit dem Beginn des 6. Jahrhunderts. Dahin sind sie aus Ostanatolien gekommen, nachdem die Skythen um 585 das Reich von Urartu zerstort haben" (W. PORZIG, op. cit., pag. 153). L'opinione contraria, secondo cui gli Armeni giungono attraverso il Caucaso, è sostenuta principalmente da Sommer: v. sopra e. n. 23. Sulla questione G.R. SOLTA, *Sprache*, pag. 79 e

segg., con ampia bibliografia. - A conclusioni analoghe alle nostre. nel descrivere questo tragitto degli Armeni dalla penisola balcanica alle sedi caucasiche. condividendo almeno parte del tragitto con i Frigi, perviene per diversa via (studiando cioè le affinitrà fra armeno ed elementi "daci" del rumeno) J.A.C. GREPPIN. *A Note on Dacian* *bardo (> rum. barzà) 'STORK' and Arm.* brdor 'LAMMERGEIER'. Journal of I.E. Studies 5, pag. 203 segg.

ABBREVIAZIONI

DEETERS = G. DEETERS, *Die kaukasicshen Sprachen, Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, VII, Leiden-Köln, 1963, pag. 1-79.

HUEBSCHMANN, *AG* = H. HUEBSCHMANN, *Armenische Grammatik*, I, Strasbourg 1897.

IEW = J. POKORNY, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern-Munchen, 1959 e segg.

KRONASSER = H. KRONASSER, *Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen*, Heidelberg 1956.

MEILLET, *Esquisse* = A. MEILLET, *Esquisse d'une grammaire comparée de l'arménien classique*, Wien 1936².

SOLTA, *Sprache* = G.R. SOLTA, *Die armenische Sprache, Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, VII, Leiden-Köln, 1963, pag. 80-128.

SOLTA, *Stellung* = G.R. SOLTA, *Die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen. Eine Untersuchung der indogermanischen Bestandteile des armenischen Wortschatzes*, Wien 1960.

STURTEVANT = E.H. STURTEVANT, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Philadelphia, 1951²

Le sigle delle riviste sono quelle usuali della *Bibliographie Linguistique* e degli altri repertori, ai quali pertanto si rimanda.

Yerevan Dissertations on Armenian Linguistics:
A supplement to Western Bibliographies
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Engaged in bibliographical work in the field of Armenian linguistics — Bibliographie Linguistique, Indogermanische Chronik, as well as a report about "Die Erforschung des Klassisch-Armenischen seit Meillet (1936)", published in KRATYLOS 17, 1972 (1974), 1-68 — for more than ten years, the present writer is well-acquainted with all the difficulties of gaining information of any kind about literature on Armenian linguistics published in the Armenian SSR (or anywhere else in the world-wide Armenian diaspora). Nobody else may be more conscious of the incompleteness, defectiveness, and scanty reliability of the "Western" bibliographies on that subject than he. So it may be hoped, that many a reader will join his opinion, that it is of general interest to supplement those bibliographies by the following list of dissertations approved in Yerevan between 1936 and 1960. The source of this list is a book, to which the writer's attention has been drawn by mere chance: Haykakan SSH-owm paštpanvac disertac^{c}ianeri matenagitowt^{c}yown 1936-1960 t^{c}t^c. / Bibliografija dissertacij zaščiščennyh v Armjanskoj SSR 1936-1960 gg., Erewan (Haykakan SSH Gitowt^{c}yownneri Akademiayi hratarakč^{c}owt^{c}yown) 1975.

The titles are given in transliteration as proposed for Armenian by the present writer in "Empfehlungen zur Transliteration der armenischen Schrift", KZ 86, 1972, 296-306 and for Russian by the ISO-recommendation DIS 9-2 (1977); their order is that of the Latin alphabet, and diacritic marks are not taken into regard. — Dissertations

Beleckaja I. S.: Značenie i upotreblenie glagol'nyh form *Past Indefinite i Past Continuous* v sopostavlenii s vido-vremennymi formami v armjanskom. (Meaning and use of the verbal forms *Past Indefinite* and *Past Continuous* in contrast to the aspectual-temporal forms in Armenian.) s. l. s. d. (ca. 1959), 276 pp., 3 figures (K)

Davtᶜyan K. S.: Leřnayin Łarabałi avtonom marzi barbařayin kᶜarteza. (The dialectological map of the autonomous district of Łarabał highland.) E. 1947, 484 pp., 23 maps. (K) — For the edition (E. 1966, 506 pp., 9 maps) cfr. BL 1966, 110 No. 2589.

Galstyan S. A.: Mikᶜayel Nalbandyani lezown. (The language of Mikᶜayel Nalbandyan.) E. 1955, 365 pp. (K)

Gareginyan G. L.: Šalkapnerə žamanakakicᶜ hayereni kᶜerakanakan kařowcᶜvackᶜ owm. (The conjunctions in the grammatical structure of Modern Armenian.) E. 1959, 589 pp. (K) — For the edition (E. 1963, 367 pp.) cfr. BL 1965, 125 No. 2891.

Gasparyan G. K.: Hay-řowsakan bařaranagrowtᶜyownə ew nra kowltowrakan aržekᶜə. (The Armenian-Russian lexicography and its cultural importance.) E. 1943, 127 pp. (K)

Gevorgyan V. A.: Ašxarhabari grabaryan jewabanakan baładricᶜnerə. (The Old Armenian morphological components in New Armenian.) E. 1949, 152 pp. (K)

Grigoryan A. V.: Arewelyan ašxarhabari tarrerə mijnadaryan tařergowneri erkerowm. (Elements of New Eastern Armenian in the works of mediaeval poets.) E. 1945, 197 pp. (K)

Gyowlbowdałyan S. V.: Sovetakan gyowłn artacᶜołoł hay grakanowtᶜyan lezown ew očə. (The language and style of the Armenian literature about the Soviet village.) E. 1950, VIII, 168 pp. (K)

Harowtᶜyownyan K. H.: Hamadrakan kᶜnnowtᶜyown hayocᶜ ew adrbejanakan lezowneri jewabanowtᶜyan. (A synthetic study of the morphology of the Armenian and Azarbaijanian language.) E. 1959, 202 pp. (K)

Hayrapetyan H. E.: Vahan Teryani banasteřcowtᶜyownneri lezown ew očə. (The language and style of Vahan Teryan's poems.) E. 1950, 303 pp. (K)

Hovhannisyan G. A.: Jaynavorneri analiza ēlektroakowstikakan metᶜodov, kaxvac seřicᶜ ow řegistricᶜ, haykakan artasanowtᶜyan žamanak. (Analysis of the vowels with electro-acoustic methods depending on gender and register, according to the Armenian pronunciation.) E. 1949, 106 pp., 17 figure (K))

Jahowkyan G. B.: Hay kᶜerakanowtᶜyownə 11-15rd darerowm. (The Armenian grammar in the 11th-15th centuries.) E. 1947, 259 pp. (K)

Jahowkyan G. B.: Hay lezvabanakan mitkᶜə ew ašxarhabari harcᶜerə 18-19rd dd. (Armenian linguistic thinking and the questions of New Armenian in the 18th-19th centuries.) 2 parts. E. 1954, 791 pp., 5 tables. (D)

Kanayan X. M.: Avetikᶜ Isahakyani banastełcowtᶜyownneri lezown. (The language of the poems of Avetikᶜ Isahakyan.) E. 1940, 110 pp. (K)

Kᶜočᶜoyan A. K.: Tᶜbilisii barbaři kařowcᶜvackᶜayin ařanjnahatkowtᶜyownneri artacᶜolowmə G. Sowndowkyani erkerowm. (The reflection of the structural peculiarities of the dialect of Tiflis in the works of G. Sowndowkyan.) E. 1956, 19, 512 pp. (K) — For partly publication cfr. BL 1960, 111.

Kᶜosyan V. A.: Hndevropakan armatneri lekᶜsikakan aržekᶜə hayerenowm. (The lexical importance of Indo-European roots in Armenian.) E. 1953, IV, 407 pp. (K) — For partly publication cfr. BL 1960, 111.

Kᶜyowrkᶜčᶜyan A. N.: Hayereni makbaynerə. (The adverbs of Armenian.) E. 1955, III, 536 pp. (K)

Łaragyowlyan Tᶜ. A.: Hin hayereni xonarhman hamakargə. (The system of conjugation in Old Armenian.) E. 1956, 3, 263 pp. (K) — For the edition (E. 1961, 181 pp.) cfr. BL 1962, 89 No. 2037.

Łazaryan S. Ł.: Arewelahay grakan lezvi, ašxarhabari kazmavorowmə ew X. Abovyanə. (The formation of the Eastern Armenian literary language, the ašxarhabar, and X. Abovyan.) E. 1949, 99 pp. (K)

Lazaryan S. Ł. : R̄owsereni der⸗ žamanakakic^c hayereni harstac^{c}man ow zargac^{c}man meǰ. (The role of the Russian language in the enrichment and development of Modern Armenian.) 2 parts. E. 1952, 490; VIII, 577 pp. (D)

Margaryan A. S.: Mik^{c}ayel Nalbandyani lezvagitakan hayac^{c}k^{c}ner⸗. (The linguistic views of Mik^{c}ayel Nalbandyan.) E. 1952, 269 pp., 5 pp. facsimilia. (K)

(Melk^{c}owmyan R̄. L.) Melkumjan R. L.: Fonetičeskie osobennosti russkogo literaturnogo jazyka v sravnenii s armjanskim. (Phonetic peculiarities of the Russian literary language in comparison with Armenian.) E. 1937, 29 pp. (K)

Mesropyan X. M.: Mowrac^{c}ani patmvack^{c}neri lezown. (The language of Mowrac^{c}an's tales). E 1947-1949, 258 pp. (K)

Mkrtč^{c}yan H. M.: Karno barbar̄⸗. (The dialect of Karin.) s. l. s. d. (ca. 1957), 373 pp. (K)

Mkrtč^{c}yan R̄. S.: Gełam Saryani poeziayi lezown ew oč⸗. (The language and style of the poetry of Gełam Saryan.) E. 1953, V, 256 pp.; appendix: 278 pp. (K)

(Movsisyan) Movsisjan A. I.: O nekotoryh perežitkah pervobytnogo myšlenija v armjanskom jazyke. (On some relics of primitive thinking in the Armenian language.) E. 1946, 148 pp., 1 figure. (K)

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Mowrvalyan A. A.: Hayoc^c ew vrac^c lezowneri ⸗ndhanrowt^{c}yownner⸗. (The features common to the Armenian and Georgian language.) 2 parts. E. 1947, 959 pp. (D)

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Xalatᶜyan V. A.: Grabari mi kᶜani aranjnahatkowtᶜyownner Ezniki lezvowm. (Some peculiarities of Old Armenian in the language of Eznik.) E. 1944, 113 pp. (K)

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Epigraphica Armeniaca Hierosolymitana II

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The following is a continuation of the author's previous article in this journal. It contains inscriptions and dedications on objects in Jerusalem, some of which have been previously edited. They include the well-known inscription on the wooden door in the Cathedral of St. James, some Xačʻkʻars, and inscriptions on some objects. The Xačʻkʻars are all from the courtyard before the present entrance into the Cathedral. At a later time a plan will be published showing their exact location. Some of the inscriptions were studied in the writer's seminar on Armenian Epigraphy, held at the Hebrew University in 1979-80. Participants prepared certain inscriptions for publication and they have signed their own work. Yet, it should be emphasized that the readings they publish follow extensive discussion in the seminar.

Brass Candlestick (Figure 15)

(Photograph will appear in the next issue.)

ՇԱՊՂԱՆՍ ՅՇԿԷ ԿԻՐԱՈՍՆ ՈՐ ԵՂ Ի ՂՈՆ ՍՊ ՊՂԱԱՅ

This candlestick is a memorial of Kirakos, who set it in the
Church of St. Paul.

The object is in the L.A. Mayer Museum of Islamic Art, in Jerusalem, object M 65-68.[1] The candlestick is of brass, with silver inlay, probably made in N.W. Iran in the thirteenth century. On the base is

a Naskh inscription and the Armenian was added over part of the Naskh inscription. It cannot be dated more precisely than to say that it is later, perhaps by a century or two, than the manufacture of the candlestick. The church of St. Paul cannot be identified.

The inscription is 13 cms long and 1.2 cms high. In the first word two ligatures may be observed. A genitive ending of the name "Kirakos" would be expected, not the nominative/accusative which is found. The genitive ending of "Połos" should be observed. The horizontal line extending from the start of the inscription to the end of "Kirakos" is taken as a sign of abbreviation, although it may have been part of the border of the Naskh inscription. It has been carefully removed over the rest of the inscription. No abbreviation mark occurs over ԴՌՆ "church".

Wooden Door of 1376 (Figure 16)

(Photograph will appear in the next issue.)

1 ԿԱՑՄՍ ԴՌՆՆ ՄԲ ՏԱՃԱՐԻ
2 ՈՐ Է ՅԱՆՈՒՆ ՄԲ ՊԱՐՂՈՍԻ
3 ԱՌԱՔԵԼՈՑ ՄԵԾԱՑ ԳՆՉՋԻ
4 ՄՍ ՅԻՇԱՏԱԿ ԱՆՋՆՋԵԼԻ ՀԵ
5 ՋԱՀՈԳՈՑՆ ՅՈԼԱՆԵՍ‹Ի›
6 ԵՒ ՈՐՈՒՄ ՊԵԿ Է ԻՐ ՋԱՎԱԿԻ ԹՎ ՊԽԵ

1 This construction of a door of the holy church
2 which is in the name of St. Paul
3 of the leg<io>n of the great apostles,
4 it (is) an indestructible memorial <for> the mild-
5 spirited Yolanēs
6 and for him who is a Bey, for his seed, (in) the year 825.

The door is found in the southern wall of the Cathedral of St. James, giving onto a staircase built into the width of the wall, leading up to the chapels of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The inscription has been published at least twice previously, by Sawalaneanc[c2] (Saw.) and by Kurdian (Kur.).[3] There are a great many difficulties in it still and the following are the points at which our readings differ from those previous publications.

ln. 1   ՆԱՑՄ Saw. and Kurd. | ԴՈՌՆ Saw. ԴՈՌՆ Ս Kur.

ln. 5   ՅՈՎԱՆԻՍԻ Saw. and Kur.

ln. 6   ՈՐՈՒՄ]ԹՈՐՈՍ Kur. | ՊԵԿ Է] . . . Saw. ՊԵԿԷ Kur. ԻԻՐ ՋՈՒՌԱԿԻ Kur. | ՊՈԵ] ՊԻ Saw. and Kur.

Observations on the readings follow:

ln. 1 The material reading ꝯuꝛʋʋ ʌʀɑʋ is quite clear, cf. Kurdian.

     There is an error of ṯ for ṛ. It makes good sense taken as a genitive.

ln. 2 Note the spelling ꝯuɦʌʌʋ.

ln. 3 The material reading is ꝯʋɦ . The letters ʋɦ are a ligature and the bow at the bottom of the ʋ has been reversed for lack of space. We accept the suggestion of Sawalaneanc꜄ and interpret as ꝯʋʌɦ , perhaps shortened because of crowding.

ln. 5 The proper name is clearly incised asɜɲLuʋɛʋ. This may be ɜɲꝯuʋɛʋ corrupted through the inadvertent deletion of the left arm of the ꝯ , which would have made a ligature with the preceding ɲ . The inscription is a monorhyme, each line ending with the letter ini. Yet the name ɜɲLuʋɛʋ has no ini at the end, although it is required by the exigencies both of grammar and of the rhyme. Probably the form should be ɜɲꝯuʋɛʋɦ.

ln. 6 ɲɾɲɦʋ seems certain, pace Kurdian. The syntax is awkward and perhaps ɲɾɲɦʋ is dative by attraction to the following ꝯuꝯuɦ. This line is difficult to read because of crowding and the use of many ligatures. Note the new reading ɦɾ ꝯuꝯuɦ for ɦɦɾ ꝯuɦuɦ . The improved reading of the date, confirmed by autopsy examination, has shown it to be 825 (i.e. 1376 C.E.) and not 820 (i.e. 1371 C.E.).

For the letters after ɲɾɲɦʋ we follow the reading of Kurdian, but interpret ꝯɛꝯɛ as two words. ꝯɛꝯ can best be understood as a by-form of the Turkish title *Bey*.

     No identification of Yovanēs for whom the memorial was dedicated has been found and no person is mentioned in the published sources with whom an equation might be attempted. The inscription is in a round, uncial script, with a number of ligatures. It is very crowded.

     Linguistically interesting are the forms *hezahogoyn* instead of *-hogwoyn*, a common variant for stems in -i/-wo-; the retention of -e- in the penultimate syllable of Yovanēsi, usually written in such cases as -e- or -i-; the post-classical form *ir* for *iwr*; and the spelling of *zavaki* with a -v- and not a -w-.

<div style="text-align:right">A.G. Paludis.</div>

Dedication of Patriarch Eleazar of 1663 (Figure 17)

1 ՀԱՋԱՐ ՀԱՐԻՒՐ ՏԱՍՆ ԵՐԿՈՒՆԻՆ ։․

2 ԿԱՋՄԻ ԽՑԵՐՍ ԲՈԼՈՐՈՎԻՆ ։․

3 ՅԱՈՈՒՐՍ ՄԵծԻ ԳԱՀԱԿԱԼԻՆ ։․

4 ԵՂԻԱՋԱՐ ՏԵԱՌՆ ՎԵՀԻՆ ։․

5 ՈՐ ՀԱՆ�ԴԻՊԻՔ ՏԱՔ ՋՈՂՈՐՄԻՆ ։․

6 ԱՇԽԱՏՈՂԱՑՆ ԵՒ ՊԱՏճԱՌԻՆ ։․

1 In one thousand, one hundred and twelve
2 all these rooms were made,
3 in the days of the great vicar
4 Eleazar, exalted lord.
5 You who encounter (it), offer the "Mercy" prayer,
6 for the workmen and the commissioner.

The inscription is found on the western wall of the courtyard, before the entry into St. James Cathedral. It commemorates the erection of these buildings during the reign of Patriarch Eleazar who is noted for his building activity in Jaffa, Gaza and Ramleh, as well as in Jerusalem.
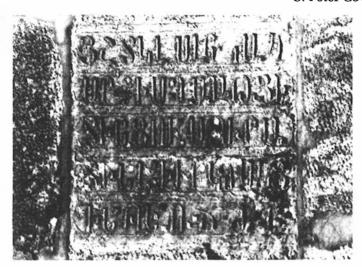
The inscription is in round uncial script; there are four ligatures, in lns. 2, 3, 5, and 6. There are no abbreviations, but certain letters are reduced in size, cf. no. 14. The following grammatical peculiarities are to be noted.

ln. 1 ԵՐԿՈՒՆԻՆ appears instead of the more usual ԵՐԿՈՒՔԻՆ which is perhaps to be explained by the juxtaposition of the classical lo-

cative form *trunhu* with the modern ending - *hu* .

ln. 2 *wStr* is found as the plural form of *wnhs* despite the modern tend-
ency to avoid vowel reduction. Moreover, it is to be construed
with the singular verbal form *uuquh* . Perhaps we are to regard
this as a collective construction, the complex of buildings being
uppermost in the writer's mind.

ln. 5 *suf*, the present subjunctive, is used as a polite alternative to
the imperative *snhf*. *nlnruhu* refers to the opening of an inter-
cessory prayer on behalf of the artisans.

<div align="right">S. Peter Cowe</div>

Pavement Dedication of 1663 (Figure 18)

1	*3tSut ULruuul*	1	The pavement of this porch
2	*Určhu luLuf8h*	2	is a memorial of deacon
3	*shruann Unhru*	3	Murat of Galata
4	*shu t‹h› hhr unluu8*	4	and of his spouse
5	*hu fuuc nddt*	5	in the year 1112.

No mention is made of such a person as deacon Murad at this time
and place in the standard works of reference. The paving of the court-
yard was doubtless part of the same building program of Patriarch
Eleazar which was commemorated in the previous inscription. The
inscription is set into the pillar of the central arch of the *Gavit*ᶜ of the
Cathedral of St. James. The script is a round majuscle including sev-
eral ligatures, some of which are made by reducing the size of one
component. The letters *ULruuul* in ln. 1 are clear. They are inter-

preted as from the word ꭒꭒꮮꭒꮯꭒꭱ, meaning "pavement". The form is difficult, however, and the r remains inexplicable. The ayb of ꭒꮁꭒꮳ has been reduced to zero in the genitive form.

S. Peter Cowe

Xac'k'ar of 1460 (Figure 19)

1 ꮯꭒꮦꮯꮯꭼꮨꮎꭺ ꮇꮀ ꮦꮯꭒꮦꮃ ꮀ ꮁꭒ
2 ꮁꭼꮶꭺꭒꮃꮀꮀꮀꭻ ꮎꭼꮀꭒꮃꭒꮆꮃꮀꭼꮀ ꭼꮀ
3 ꮇꭒꮁꮎ ꮦꭒꭼꭒꮶꭒꭻꮀꮀꮎꮀ ꮀ ꮀꮎ ꭼꭻ
1 This holy cross was set up in inter-
2 cession for Yewatmelik[c] and
3 his mother Nazxat[c]un, in the year 903.

This inscription is on the base of the stone, which is high on the western wall of the courtyard in front of the entrance into the Cathedral of St. James. It was transcribed by Sawalaneanc[c] who wrote ꮇꮀꮁꮀ as ꮇꭒꮀꮁꮀ and ꮯꭒꮦꮯꮯꭼꮨꮎꭺ as ꮯꭒꮦꮎꮨꭼꮎꭒꮀ (p. 1241). The Xač[c]k[c]ar must originally have stood elsewhere, as the numerous rough crosses and secondary inscriptions and graffiti on it indicate. These could not have been made once it was set in its present position, perhaps in the 17th century (see nos. 18 and 19). Its original location cannot be ascertained, nor the persons mentioned identified.

The script of the inscription is uncial, with few abbreviations and ligatures. The k for g of ꮯꭒꮦꮯꮯꭼꮨꭺ should be noted, a not uncommon variation, especially following n. The spelling using o for aw in a final position is found occasionally in manuscripts, apparently serving as a form of abbreviation.

The numerous graffiti are recorded, from top to bottom and from left to right:

1   *պարսէղ* "Parsel.", proper name, rough minuscule script, at the top; P for B.

2 The same, upper left segment.

3 *թ* [. .]*թ* "T[   ]b", minuscule script, upper right segment.

4 A number of graffiti can be observed below the horizontal arms of the largest cross. *տր* "Lord" is set heraldically below the arms of a small, rough cross on the left hand side. No other whole words could be read. Nearly all these graffiti are in minuscule script, with a few majuscule letters visible. At least three or four of them are of the same word. The whole probably precedes the mid-seventeenth century.
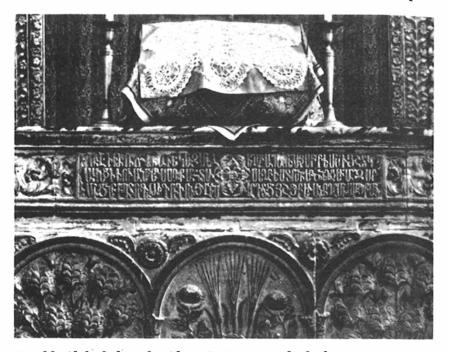

Xačʻkʻar, undated (Figure 20)

ԿԱՆԿՆԵԳՕ ՄՋ ՆՇԱՆՆ ի ԲԱՐԵԽՕԷ

This holy cross was set up in intercess [

The inscription is found high in the western wall of the courtyard in front of the entrance into the Cathedral of St. James. It is incomplete. Notable is its resemblance to no. 20, both in the wording and in the spelling peculiarities of the first word. Like that Xačʻqkʻar, the present position of this one is secondary. This is indicated by the large number of later incisions on it which could not have been made in its present location. As well as crosses, we can make out the following:

1 Upper left quadrant, minuscule   sp.

2 Upper right quadrant, majuscule, the letter Ա .

3 Lower left quadrant, two lines, the first illegible and the second reading ի ԹՎ "in the year"; no date follows; minuscule script.

Marble Slabs below the Altar, St. James Cathedral (1730; Figure 21)

1 ԱՒ Ի ԹԻ ՈՁՀԲ ԱՄԻՆ ԿԱՁՄԵԼ ԵՂԵԻ ՄԱՐՄԱՐԵԱՑ ՄԲ ԲԵՄՍ Ի ՅՇՏԿ

2 ԱԿՆՑԻ ԵՐԵՒԱՆԵՆՑ ՍԱՌԱֆ ՄԱՀՏԵՍԻ ՍԵՂԲԵՍՏՐՈՒՆ ԵՒ ԾՆՈՂԱՑ ԵՒ ԱՄ ՋՈՒՐ

3 ՄԻՅ ՆՐ Ի ՊԱՏՐԻԹԵԵ ԳՐԻԳՐ ԵՒ ՅՎՆՆՍ ՎՐԴՑ ՅՇՏՔ ԵՒ ԱԾ ՈՂՈՐՄԻ ԱՍԱՔ. ԱՄԷՆ:

1 With the help of God, in the year 1179 this marble altar (bēm) was fashioned

2 as a memorial of Saraf *mahdesi* Sełbestr[o]s Akncʿi Erewanencʿ and of his parents and of all his

3 seed, in the Patriarchate of the *vardapets* Gregory and Yovhannēs. Remember and say "Lord have mercy". Amen.

The inscription is on the main altar of the Cathedral of St. James.[4] It refers to the dedication of the decorated marble slabs on the face of

the *bem*, the raised section at the front of the Cathedral. The same donor, sixteen years later, presented the similar marble slabs on the *bem* of the adjacent Chapel of St. Etchmiadzin.[5]

Gregory and Yovhannēs are Gregory the Chainbearer, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Yovhannēs Kolot, Patriarch of Constantinople. They were close friends and were often mentioned together. Kolot died in 1741 which perhaps explains why only Gregory is mentioned in the St. Etchmiadzin inscription, which was written in 1746. The St. James inscription was transcribed by Sawalaneanc and his readings differ from ours only in very minor details; he did not publish a photograph.[6]

The inscription is in a round, majuscule script, with many ligatures and some letters in reduced size. Numerous words have been abbreviated, but no sign of abbreviation occurs.

Xač̣k̔ar of 1442 (Figure 22)

1 ԿԱՆԳՆԵՑԱՒ ԽԱՉՍ Ի ՓՐԿՈՒԹԻՒ ՀՈԳՈ ֊ ֊
2 ԱՍԱՐՊԵԿԻՆ ԵՒ ԿՈՂԱԿՑԻՆ ⟨. . .⟩ԴԱՆՈՒՃ Մ
3 ԻԼԻՔԻՆ ԵՒ ԴԱՐԵՐՆ ԵՏԻԼԻՄԻԼԻՔԻՆ, ԹՎԻՆ ՊՂԱ:

1 This cross was set up for the salvation of the soul
2 of Asarpek and his wife [. . .]danus, of M-
3 ilik and his daughter Etimilik, in the year 891.

The Xač̣k̔ar is high in the western wall of the courtyard before the entrance into the Cathedral of St. James. The inscription is fairly well preserved, but a few letters in line 2 have been obliterated. The inscription was transcribed by Sawalaneanc[e], but no photograph of it has been published previously. We differ from Sawalaneanc[e]'s readings in a number of places.

ln. 1 read ՀՈԳՈ for his ՀՈԳՈՑ.
ln. 2 read [. . .] ԴԱՆՈՒՃ for his ՄԻՐ . . . ԱՆՈՒՃ .
ln. 3 read ՄԻԼԻՔԻ for his ՄԵԼԻՔԻ .
    read ԴԱԴԵՐՆ for his ԴԱՍՏԵՐՆ .
    read ԵՏԻԼԻՄԻԼԻՔԻՆ for his ԵՏԻԼԻՄՆԼԻՔԻՆ.

The following points of interest arise. In ln. 1, the ending -o for -woy of the genitive of ՀՈԳԻ, cf. no. 17 above. Observe that the omission of a final -y in cases like this is often seen. In line 2, Sawalaneanc' reads ՍԻՐ...ԱՆՈՒՀՆ : in our judgement there is room only for six vertical strokes before the clearly preserved letters ԱՆՈՒՀՆ. We read ՛ directly before this ending, and that takes up two of the strokes. If Sawalaneanc'ᵉs Ր is accepted (I do not regard it as at all certain) it would account for another two strokes. Two more strokes can be discerned and the second of them might be an ini or a hiwn, but this is uncertain. Sawalaneancᶜ's reading of   preceding is thus impossible. The ending -anous, more regularly -anoys, is often used in the formation of feminine names. In ln. 3, the reading is ՛Ս՛ԵՐՆ, where ՛ՍՏՐՆ would be expected, perhaps a dialectal form.

The inscription is probably not in its original position. It is in round majuscule letters, with no ligatures.

FOOTNOTES

[2] T. Sawalaneancᵉ, History of Jerusalem (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1931) 1225-1226 (in Armenian).

[3] H. Kurdian, "Woodcarving among the Armenians," Sion 41 (1967) 45. A. Mekhitarian, Treasures of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Catalogue No. 1 (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1969) 43 and B. Narkiss and M.E. Stone, Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem (Jerusalem: Masada Press, 1979) fig. 164 and p. 156 followed Kurdian's readings. The photograph is published here with permission of Masada Press and Mr. A Peli, as is fig. 21.

[4] See Narkiss and Stone, fig. 169.

[5] See inscription no. 14, above.

[6] Sawalaneancᶜ, 1221.

[7] Ibid, 1240.

Index of Proper Names

DATES

Additional Notes to Epigraphica
Armeniaca Hierosolymitana

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No. 1. Archbishop N. Bogharian has, in oral communication, questioned the authenticity of this inscription. He emphasized the unusual dating formula and the expression "the kings of the Armenians", points also noted in our publication. The style of the stone cross is in concordance with an eleventh century date, although this quarantees nothing about the inscription. Palaeography is of no help in dating a round uncial script of this type. Consequently it seems wisest to treat the inscription with some circumspection.

No. 9. This inscription has a poetic structure, as N. Bogharian pointed out to me. Written out in verses it would be:

1   ի Հայ կազեան թովականին

Հազար իննսուն ութ աւելին

կազմեցաւ դրուն սուրբ տաճարիս

յիշատակ տէր մինասին

5   ձեռամբ Համթեցի ճարապետին

Line 2: Correct typographic error and read: ՈՂՐ . The word
       աւելին   is part of the dating formula and not adverbial:
       this is evident after recognition of the poetic structure.

Line 3: The rhyme is broken by the ending -ս, but the material reading is certain.

Line 4: Rev. Minas of Amida might be identified with the man of this name who became Patriarch of Jerusalem between 1698 and 1703 (N. Bogharian). Patriarch Minas was ordained a bishop in 1666. He might have been of an age to be a priest and dedicate a door in 1649, but would certainly have been a young man at that time. He died in 1704: see further Aławnuni, *Monks and Pilgrims*, 286-287.

No. 12. Translation of line 2, omit "my".

Footnote 20: Read "Sawalanianc[c], p. 1254.

Armenian *əntocin*

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1. This article will primarily draw attention to the unusual morphology of the word *əntocin* as a possible parallel to *erkotasan* "twelve". An explanation of the discrepant *o* vocalism in both words, however, can only be offered with great hesitation.

2. The word *əntocin*, *əndocin* consistently translates the Greek οἰκογενής in the sense of "a slave that is born in the house of his master" in the Septuagint (Vulgate: *vernaculus*)[1]. It is opposed to *arcat^cagin* "(slave) bought with money." in *Genesis* 17,12 (bis).23.27. In the same sense the word is used by Philo, *Quaestiones in Genesim* 3,50; Mandakuni (cited by *NHB*); Movs. X^corenac^ci I,10.12 and Yovhannes Drasxanakertec^ci (Tiflis 1912) p. 15.

As an adjective it occurs once to my knowledge in Chrysostomos (In Matthaeum), [Venice 1861-62, part I p. 17] translating Greek γενετικώτατος "most universal" as an attribute of πάθος "passion"[2]. (Migne, Patrologia Graeca 57, Col. 225). I know of no examples confirming the statement of *NHB*, and the *Arjern Bararan* where the adjective is synonymous with *əndacin* or *əndaboys*, Gk. ἔμφυτος "innate", though the adjective *əndocin* is mentioned as occurring in Modern Armenian in the sense of *bnacin* "innate, natural" by the Academy-Dictionary, a point which would suggest the existence of this meaning in Classical Armenian too. It would seem then, that the adjectival use of *ntocin* is caused by confusion with *ndacin*. In any case, GK. γενετικώτατος is not correctly rendered either by *əntocin* nor *əndacin*.

The word ǝntocin (e.g. Genesis 15,2; Yovh. Drasx. l.c.) is also spelled ǝndocin (e.g. Genesis 14,14; Ecclesiastes 2,7; Philo l.c.) in our editions, thus reflecting the well-known loss of distinction between voiced and unvoiced occlusives after nasals of post-classical time (s. Meillet 1936: 29).

The word is inflected as an *a* stem. The incidental occurrence of o inflection seems to be late[3].

3. The *NHB* and more specifically Marr, 1903: 108 connected the word with tun "house". Marr adduced a metathesis from *tnocin for which there seems to be no phonetic justification. The analysis of the word as a compound with -cin "born" can be maintained however and is supported by the *a* declension of the word.

An alternative segmentation such as ǝntoc-in, with suffix -in-, would explain the o inflection but leave the evidently older *a* inflection of the word unexplained. Furthermore an element ǝntoc- would hardly be explainable (derivation with -oc- from the preposition ǝnd being excluded, as such a suffix does not exist in Armenian).

One might be tempted to consider ǝntocin as a loan-translation from greek ἐνδογενής "born in the house", borrowing this argument from Leumann 1977: 280 who uses it in the case of latin indigena. There is however no semantic identity between Greek ἐνδογενής and ntocin. This is proven by the fact that in Leviticus 18,9 ἐνδογενής refers to relatives (sisters) and is translated by arm. *i tan cneal* "born in the house" and not by ǝntocin. Moreover, one does not expect loan translations of this kind in Old Armenian before the Hellenistic School (ca. 550).

4. I suggest an analysis ǝnto-cin "born within". The first element should be compared etymologically with Greek ἔνδον "within" (and possibly with Hittite anda(n) "in, into"). The Armenian development was *endV- > *intV- with regular development of IE *d and raising of e to i before nasal, later developing into ǝntV-. The spelling ǝntocin thus seems etymologically justified.

A connection with Greek ἐντός "within"[4] does not seem preferable: a composition of *entos and *ǵenH- would on no point in the development of Armenian have resulted into ǝnt/docin.

There remain two questions: the relation of ǝnto- to the Armenian preposition ǝnd and the status of the final -o in ǝnto-.

5. Both Malxaseanc[c] s.v. and Adjarian HAB s.v. considered ǝntocin as a compound with ǝnd and cin. There are however, certain semantic problems. The preposition ǝnd means "with, in the company of (c.dat., c.loc.)"; "instead of, in exchange for (c.gen.)"; "through,

along, in the direction of (c.acc.)"; "at the side of (c.abl.)"; "under (c.instr.)". Probably ənd etymologically represents more than one IE form, among which the equivalent of Greek ἀντί "instead of" and of Skr. adhás "under". For details see Solta 1960: 271-3.

The question then is whether ənto-, in the assumed sense of "within", is compatible with one of the meanings of ənd. The answer appears to be negative.

On the other hand, some compounds and derivations with ənd do show the meaning "within". One can cite ənd-a-boys, ənt-a-boys "innate" (Greek ἔμφυτος, attested in the Bible), synonymous with ənd-a-cin (cited without references in NHB but existent in Modern Armenian); ənt-a-sun, ənd-a-sun "sedentary", translating οἰκῶν οἰκίαν Genesis 25,27 (as opposed to vayrag, Greek ἄγροικος), synonymously with ənt-a-snund, ənd-a snund. Finally there exists ənt-ust, ənd-ust "(Adv.) by, of one's self, naturally; of the house, from one's house", glossed in the NHB as οἴκοθεν, οἴκκ (Philo, Chrysostomos).

The possibility exists, that ənd- and ənt- in these words has to be detached from the preposition ənd and thus be connected with ənto-. The material is too scanty, however, to stress this possibility strongly.

The conclusion must be that the semantic function of the preposition ənd hardly justifies the assumption that IE *endoN is one of its underlying etyma.

6. Adjarian HAB s.v. ənd considers the -o- in əntocin as the connecting vowel, which is highly surprising in view of the normal connecting vowel -a- in compounds. I see no way in which a compound formed from the stem *endo- and -cin could have escaped the normal development in which the original connecting vowel -o- resulted in -a-.

The parallel of erkotasan "twelve" and erkok^{c}in, erkok^{c}ean "all two"[5] might be adduced at this point. As Szemerenyi 1960: 22 n. 111 pointed out, it is highly improbable that there is an IE *dwo- conserved in these forms against *dwō in erku "two". His attempt to posit a desendant of Indoeuropean *dwoyo- in erkotasan instead, does not seem preferable. Assuming that erko- is an inner-armenian development from *erku-tasan we might posit that əntocin represents an older *əntu-cin. The first element of əntocin thus is directly to be traced to the adverb *endoN for which the regular development was *intuN > *intu > *əntu-[6]. Thus the compound was formed after the loss of the final nasal in the adverb.

As Prof. F. Kortlandt has pointed out to me, one might be in-

clined to connect the lowering of unstressed $u > o$ in these two cases
with the development of $o > a$ in unstressed position in open sylla-
bles (type *ateam* "I hate"); this development $o > a$ has been thought
to affect the original connecting vowel of compounds from o stems
too; cf. Pedersen's remarks on this subject (KZ 36, 1900, 100). The
view, that the connecting vowel -*o*- developed into -*a*- under Iranian
influence cannot be discarded either. Possibly several tendencies
worked together in this process[7].

    If the postulated development $u > o$ is to be related to the de-
velopment $o > a$, it must be dated after the syncope (as is proven by
orcam < *orucam*) which raises the question why the postulated
erku-tasan, *əntu-cin* were not affected, so as to yield *erk-tasan*,
ənt-cin. Szemerenyi l.c. explained the replacement of *erku-tasan*
by *erko-tasan* "in order to avoid the reduction" to *erk-tasan*. The
results of the syncope in some cases clearly conflicted with the tend-
ency of Armenian to preserve open syllables; the insertion of *ə* tes-
tifies to this. So one might assume that the elimination of unstressed
-*u*- was a gradual process that did not affect all cases at the same mo-
ment. In view of this, cases like *erk-tesak* "biformis" (8th century),
erk-tirean "having two masters" (Severianos of Emesa), *erk-ti* "time
of two days" (Chrysostomos) are later formations against *erkotasan*
and *əndocin* as is indicated already by their literary character[8].

FOOTNOTES

    *This paper has benefited from remarks brought forth in many discussions with
Prof. Dr. F. Kortlandt, to whom go my heart-felt thanks. The sole responsibility is, of
course, mine.

    [1]For ἐνδογενής in Jeremias 2,14 the Armenian text slightly deviates from the Sep-
tuagint text. Citations are to the Armenian Bible-edition, Venice 1860.

    [2]Or maybe "principal" (passion). Greek γενικός means, according to G. Lampe,
a Patristic Greek Lexicon (1961-68) "general, universal; principal (elements, virtues,
passions); belonging to a class; of general application".

    [3]NHB cites Vardan Vardapet (13th century) for o inflection. One can cite also a
varia lectio of Movs. Kᶜoren. *əndocnovk*ᶜ (main text (ed. Tiflis 1913) I,10 *əndocnawk*ᶜ).
A derivation *əndocni* might be assumed in the *varia lectio* Movs. Kᶜoren. I,12 *əndoc-
neac*ᶜ (main text *əndocnac*ᶜ).

[4]Meillet, 1896: 155-156 (=1977: 30-31) combined the preposition ənd with latin endo as *əndh- in the sense of "towards", withdrawing an earlier proposal to connect the preposition ənd with Greek ἐντός.
For Latin endo, indu as a loan from Greek see Leumann 1977: 561-562.

[5]Erkok^cin, erkok^cean seems to be an analogous formation (to be compared with hingek^cean). Analyzing erkok^c-in would point to a final *-s added to *dwo-, which seems improbable. The Acc.pl. erkusin (pointing to a Nom. *erkuk^cin) in the Bible (Sirach 40, 20.21) seems to be comparatively recent.

[6]For the development of final *-oN (as against final *-N) see Kortlandt, Proceedings of the First Intern. Congress of Armenian Linguistics, 1980, 97-106. It does not seem preferable to compare this *əntu- with dialectal Greek ἔνδω since this form seems to be an analogous formation.

[7]For this view see Meillet, 1912-1914: 253-254 (= 1962: 167-168). For the problem of "discrepant a vocalism" in general see J. Greppin, 1973: 9-36 and Considine 1978-1979: 358-360. I adhere to the view that the development *o > a in those cases is a late inner-Armenian phonetic development.

[8]Cases like artawnut^ciwn, a compound of art and an abstract-formation from unim "to have" (translating Greek ἐξοχή in texts of the Hellenistic period) and katarawnut^ciwn "perfection" (8th century) for which see Adjarian HAB III 601 s.v. unim are later developments. The Modern Armenian type vero-yišeal "above-mentioned" is derived directly from vero(y) "above". I mention here that Karst, 1901: 317, note 1, compared č^cu "way, journey" along with erku with č^cok^cay "I went" (considered by him as original next to č^cogay) next to erkok^cin. However, the morphological status of both words seems to be different.

Book Notes

Ljudviga Alekseevna Saradževa of the Ačaṝyan Institute of Linguistics at the Armenian Academy of Sciences in Yerevan is well known from nearly a dozen articles published in various Yerevan journals since 1971, which may be characterized as contrastive-comparative studies in the field of Armenian and the Slavic languages. Most of these papers were devoted to single parts of the lexicon such as the verbs of moving or speaking, the words for time or colours or the terminology of agriculture or cattle-breeding. Now we have in hand her first monograph about "Armenian-Slavic lexico-grammatical parallels", and that book is at the same time the first general examination of these matters. It starts with a historical survey (ending with B. V. Gornung, 1963, however) of Armenian and Slavic within the Indo-European language family, that is: of their place within the classification of the Indo-European dialects. Chapters II and III lay out the morphological patterns used in these languages, including roots, suffixes, root-determinatives, stem-classes as well as the ablaut of Indo-European and its reflexes or variations in Armenian and Slavic respectively. The main part, entitled "Semantic concordances in the system of Old Armenian and the Slavic languages", discusses

briefly the question of using lexical criteria in dialectological inves-
tigations (that method being judged with the utmost caution by the
present reviewer) and examines, after all, the Armeno-Slavic lexical
isoglosses as arranged by semantic groups similar to those of C. D.
Buck's *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms*. It is only at the end, that
within these materials a differentiation is attempted regarding the
range of distribution over the whole Indo-European area, its Eastern
part alone or only Armenian and Slavic. According to the biblio-
graphical data given, the manuscript must have been brought to an
end almost ten years before publication. Apart from some etymolog-
ical absurdities, that fact may be the real reason for some errors or
inadvertencies. I intend, however, to call attention to only one im-
pressive, but nevertheless overlooked Armeno-Slavic exclusive iso-
gloss, the similar distribution of the interrogative and indefinite
stems IE $*k^u o$- and $*k^u i$- for persons (Arm. o(v) "who?", omn, ok^c
"anyone", OCS. kъ-to "who?") and things (Arm. z-i "what?", imn,
$*ik^c$ "anything", OCS. čь-to "what?") respectively.

R. Sch.

J.J.S. Weitenberg (ed.), *Armenia: Selected Sources on Microfiche.* Inter Documentation Company Ag (Poststrasse 14, 6300 Zug, Switzerland). 1980

The first problem that confronts the scholar working with Armenian material is the woeful difficulty of access to primary sources. Many of the Classical Armenian texts and secondary studies published in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century came from such obscure outposts as Madras, Jerusalem, Isfahan and Calcutta. Few of these publications reached the West to become part of University libraries. The situation for the texts published by the Mekhitarist Fathers in Venice and Vienna is somewhat better, and we have easier access to much of that material. More difficult to find is the material from Caucasian presses in Nor Nakhichevan, Vagharshapat, Baku and Tiflis. As we all know only too well, it requires great stubbornness and not a little wealth as well to obtain personal copies of these publications.

These difficulties are lessening. Since the end of the war, Yerevan has been producing superb editions of the classics of ancient and medieval Armenian literature; Caravan Books has begun to publish reprints of the better known editions of Grabar texts. And now J. Weitenberg has unloosed upon us a veritable treasure of texts. Through the Inter Documentation Company, Weitenberg has pro-

vided microfiche editions of 274 title of Armenian books. These books are taken wholly from the Helsinki collection and include the great majority of the Armenian books printed in Russia through the end of the Tsarist period when Helsinki was one of the major depositories for books printed in Russia.[1].

Material printed in microfiche includes such texts as Anania Shirakuni (St. Petersburg 1877), Matthew of Edessa (Vagharshapat 1898), Mkhitar Gosh (Baku 1878), Aristarkes Lastiverttsi (Alexandro pol 1893). This list can be continued considerably.

Modern works of great value also appear: Malkhaseants' Grammar (Tiflis 1892), Adjarian's various dialect studies (Nor Nakhichevan 1906-1912, Vagharshapat 1899) and early works by Abeghyan (Vagharshapat 1899, 1907, Tiflis 1908).

Rare journals are also made available: Ēminean azgagrakan zhoghovatsu (1901-1911), Azgrakan Handes (1895-1916), Lumay (1896-1911). There is much source material. Ten volumes of the Divan Hayots (Tiflis 1893-1915), ten texts of and on David of Sassun (Balasanian, Tiflis 1904, Manandian, Tiflis 1880, etc.) and various works on Armenian ecclesiastical history. There is also a scattering of material not printed in Tsarist Russia: Chahan de Cirbied's Grammar (Paris 1823), Marquart's EranŠahr (Berlin 1901), Ohsson's Des Peuples du Caucase (Paris 1828).

Amidst all this richness are some unfortunate gaps. The journal runs have breaks, and multi-volumed series lack occasional sections. Certain extremely rare editions, such as the Astrakhan 1797 edition of Vardan Barjrberdetsi, are lacking. However, it is the intent of the editor to make an effort to fill these gaps at a later date, provided response to this first issue is sufficient to warrant further production.

This effort on the part of Weitenberg and the publishers is to be warmly acknowledged. We also hope that other efforts of this type can be made, providing us with easy access to other series.

A full list of material available, with individual prices, can be obtained from the publisher, whose address is given above, or from H. L. de Mink, Director, Inter Documentation Company BV, Hogewoerd 151-153, 2311 HK Leiden, The Netherlands.

FOOTNOTE

[1]A short description of the origin of this collection, and its contents, can be found in T. E. Eriksson, "Die armenische Büchersammlung der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsinki", Studia Orientalia (Helsinki) 18, 1955.3-85.

J.A.C.G.

Antowan Meye [i.e. Antoine Meillet], *Hayagitakan owsowmn-asirowtᶜyownner.* Erevan, Erevani Hamalsarani Hratarakč̣ᶜowtᶜ-yown, 1978, 822 êǰ, 4 r. 83 k.

We see at present a real boom of editions of Antoine Meillet's *opera minora Armenologica:* shortly after the publication of the second (and last) volume of his *Études de linguistique et de philologie arméniennes* (Louvain 1977, 568 pages) a bulky volume has been issued in Yerevan, which contains all the armenological papers, reviews, and remarks of Meillet's (with the exception of his *Esquisse* . . ., 2nd edition, Vienna 1936, and the *Altarmenisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1913), translated into Armenian by the renowned Martiros Minasyan. It has been criticized by all reviewers (cf. especially the detailed review by Minasyan in *BSL* 74/2, 1979, 139-148), that the 'Western' collection is far from being complete, that on the contrary a long series of Meillet's articles about Armenian language and history is missing, and that it underwent, in addition, bad editorial work. In respect of these points the Armenian publication, the preface of which has been signed by Minasyan in Yerevan on November 22nd, 1967 (!), hence long before his emigration to France, differs from its forerunner in a most favourable way: in this book we find assembled truly all Meillet has ever written about Armenian and armenology (reviews included), that means some dozens of additional

titles if compared with the other edition; and fortunately the titles of the original publications and the references to them are by far more precisely given than there, too. At the end of the volume the reader will find a biographical sketch in tabular form and a list of writings about Antoine Meillet as well as a detailed appreciation of his armenological life-work and his relations to Armenia, and, above all, complete bibliographical data on Meillet's armenological publications, that exceed even Emile Benveniste's *Bibliographie des travaux d'Antoine Meillet* (BSL 38/1, 1937, 43-68). On the other side it is to be regretted, that the book as so many books from that country has no indexes and that its contents are therefore not comprehended as easily as one may wish it, especially since the index of the other edition is such that one better does not speak about it. The publication of Meillet's writings without doubt had deserved more care than that bestowed upon them in his mother-country. Considering the general difficulties of 'Eastern' book-production and the special problems owing to the far distance between editor and publisher in this particular case, one must say, that the Armenians, with whom Meillet's love has been all his life long, in any case devoted the care wanted to his heritage. The Armenian armenologists indeed are to be envied for this book, and it is to be hoped, that it may find widest circulation in and around Yerevan, and wherever Armenians live.

R.Sch.

Maria-Francisca Băltăceanu, *Rapports entre l'arménien et le daco-mésien* (in) Studia indoeuropaea ad dacoromanos pertinentia, II, Studii de tracologie: lingvistică (SIDP). Universitatea din Bucureşti, Bucharest 1980. Pp. 31-156. Lei 10.40 in an edition of 300 copies.

This work by M-F Băltăceanu is her third, and surely her most important, work on Armenian and Daco-Misian[1]. In many ways it is a remarkable work, and surely the most exhaustive and sensible scholarly effort devoted to the relationship of Armenian with the extinct languages of the Balkans. Băltăceanu divides her thesis into five parts. Part I (Etat de la question [33-53]) is a thorough listing and wise commentary on the abundant previous, though fragmented, scholarship that has addressed the issue of proto-Armeno-Balkan relationships. Part II (Points de repère [53-59]) is a statement of methodology which prepares us for her conclusions. Part III (Concordances lexicales [59-90]) is divided into five sub-sections, based on the probability of the proposed etymology, and further divided according to the importance of the etymology in terms of establishing parallels between proto-Armenian and Daco-Misian. In all 59 etymologies are discussed, and it is here that Băltăceanu shows extra-ordinary good

sense in assessing which etymology is valid, and which etymology is fanciful. Far too often studies of this sort have showed no restraint, and Băltăceanu's conservatives views are most welcome.

Part four (Concordances phonétiques et phonologiques [90-123]) has nothing of note to offer, though a section devoted to exceptional phonetic correspondences is most interesting. Here Băltăceanu discusses previous views on those difficult correspondences where we have IE $*sk$ = Arm.x, $*sk^w$ = š, $*kh$ = x, $*sp$ = p^c . This is a most mystifying phonetic area, and though Baltaceanu's discussion was inconclusive, it is at least helpful for resurrecting the problem. Part V (Concordances morphologiques [123-140]) pursues the views of Reichenkron, Poghirc and Djahukian. Part VI (Conclusions [140-147]) is sensible, acknowledging the paucity of evidence for comparative work in both Armenian and Daco-Misian, and concluding that in spite of many tempting collocations, ultimate conclusions must be postponed.

M.-F. Băltăcaeanu's book is remarkable in many ways: it is remarkable for its sobriety and for its maturity, and for the constraints she shows when evaluating material. It is also a remarkable document to come out of University of Bucharest where one can find Armenian material only with great difficulty.

J.A.C.G.

FOOTNOTE

[1]Earlier work has appeared as "Concordante lexical armeno-dacomoesiene" SIDP I. 1976.55-96, and "Relatii între armeană si daco-moesiană: istoricul problemei", SCL 30.4.1979.353-365.

J.A.C. Greppin (ed.), *First International Conference on Armenian Linguistics: Proceedings.* The University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 11-14 July 1979, sponsored by the Society for Armenian Studies. Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1980. 246 pages.

The First International Conference on Armenian Linguistics held at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in July 1979 resulted in a very impressive gathering of Armenologists, among whom the important Soviet delagation was particularly prominent. Their papers, published here, partly in extenso, partly in abstract, reflect the variety of subjects and interests represented at the Conference, as they cover such broad fields as historical and descriptive linguistics, applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, etc. Limiting ourselves to the papers appearing in full length, we can regroup them in a number of categories: six deal with Armenian and Indo-European (Djahukian, Polomé, Schmidt, Lindeman, Kortlandt and Greppin — the last two focusing on diachronic development); two are concerned with problems of etymology and word history (Russell, Arbeitman); four tackle questions in the field of morphology (Parnassian, Aghayan, Zekiyan, Weitenburg); and two examine syntactical peculiarities (Minassian, Terian). Language maintenance in Armenian communities abroad is studied by E.G. Tumanyan, and a very dynamic Ar-

menian language project aimed at such communities in the U.S. is analyzed by H. Seropian and L.Z. Markosian.

The paper by G. Djahukian, 'On the Position of Armenian in the Indo-European Languages' (3-16), is essentially a summary of the results of the statistical analysis of isoglosses according to the method of 'areal linguistics'. It clearly shows Greek as the closest to Armenian as far as phonological, grammatical and lexical correspondences are concerned. The often assumed closeness to the Anatolian languages or to the so-called 'Thraco-Phrygian' group is not confirmed by this analysis. Karl Horst Schmidt, in his contribution on 'Armenian and Indo-European' (35-58), discusses three morphological problems — (1) the pre-Armenian mediopassive in the present tense system; (2) the aorist and imperfect; (3) the instrumental singular — to support the hypothesis that Armenian showed closer correspondences with Greek, Phrygian and Indo-Iranian in prehistoric times. Particular attention is paid to the relative chronology of the features discussed — reconstructing a pre-Armenian model and analyzing the processes of language change through internal reconstruction. Relative chronology is also the focus of Frederik Kortlandt's paper (97-106) in which he carefully sorts out the Proto-Armenian phonological changes to order them in strict diachronic sequence, following the development of the system step by step from PIE to Classical Armenian, under the assumption that the latter is *not* a mixed language. This discussion deliberately leaves out 'laryngeals' — a topic that is taken up by E.C. Polomé (17-33), who surveys recent work on laryngeals as far as it is relevant to Armenian and maintains that Armenian initial h- as well as the prothesis must have originally reflected laryngeals.

The papers of Yoël Arbeitman ('The Recovery of an IE Collocation,' 225-231) and Frederik Otto Lindeman ('Indo-European and Classical Armenian: A Phonological Note,' 59-66) deal with more specific questions: discussing the phonological difficulties connected with the formation and prehistory of the plural form *akanǰk^c* 'ears', Lindeman suggests a solution in the line of Vogt's analysis of the Old Armenian voiced stops and affricates as (phonemically) voiced aspirates — an approach that also provides an elegant solution for the problem of -kn in Armenian *jukn* 'fish', *mukn* 'mouse', etc. Arbeitman reexamines the etymology of Armenian *leard* 'liver' for which he offers a morphosyntactic solution: *leard* reflects **lipar-t*, from the original phrase **lipar(om) yék^wr̥-t* 'fattened liver' — with a -t-suffix of deictic origin.

Dealing more specifically with a phonological problem, John

A.C. Greppin (131-137) makes an excellent case for deriving Armenian z from IE *ĝh. Reviewing all the relevant etymologies, he carefully sorts out the Iranian loans and demonstrates that no Arm. z can be derived directly from IE *dh as was often assumed on the basis of the correspondence Arm. *azn*: Gk. ἔϑγνος (*azn* now appears to be an Iranian loan).

The study of James R. Russell on 'The Word *k'uzlik* in Armenian' (107-114) is an excellent sample of careful analysis of a technical term in the religious language with a thorough investigation of its cultural and historical background.

In the field of morphology, the paper of Boghos Levon Zekiyan (147-161) examines a problem of methodology in the presentation of the Classical Armenian declension system, focused on what he labels 'representative genitive', i.e. using the genitive as the base form for comparative-etymological analysis and morphological structuration of the paradigm. Edouard B. Aghayan (139-146) surveys the terms belonging to the declension in *-iwn/-ean*, *-un/-uan* in Classical Armenian and traces for formative suffixes of this declension back to their Indo-European prototypes, also providing an explanation for the 'internal inflection' within its paradigm. Similarly, J.J.S. Weitenberg (209-215) examines the origin and development of the Armenian action nouns in *-st*, showing that only *-ust* seems to have been a suffix with a limited productivity. It is explained as resulting from an Indo-European *-ti-* derivation from a verbal stem with a final guttural (211).

The paper of Nevard A. Parnassian on 'Synonymy and Homonymy in the Grammatical Structure of Modern Armenian' (121-129) is a strictly synchronic study concentrating on the various ways to express similar grammatical functions ('synonymy') and on the phonetic similarity of affixes with different functions ('homonymy'). It points out how syntactic patterning keep disturbing 'homonymous' endings apart.

Syntax as well as word formation constitute the focus of the study of Abraham Terian, when he examines the peculiarities of the translations of the Hellenizing school (197-207), in which ambiguities and awkwardness — to the verge of incomprehensibility — are ascribable to the maintenance of the Greek word order and to the literal 'calques' of Greek compounds.

Very thorough is the survey of interrogative sentences in Classical Armenian by Martiros Minassian (67-96): in the absence of markers in the oldest Armenian manuscripts, the interrogative pattern has to be identified from internal clues: pronouns, adverbs, par-

ticles — but those are not always available, and since no inversion or other change in word order indicates the question, the presence of an 'interrogative intonation' has to be surmised from the context as only a limited number of Biblical manuscripts of the 9th century mark the accent.

In their substantial paper on the 'Stanford University Armenian Language Project' (163-196) Hasmig Seropian and Lawrence Z. Markosian describe a recent effort to develop a computer-based language instructional system for Armenian. Explaining the rationale of such an approach to language teaching, the authors go into some of the specifics of the technology and methodology involved in preparing a first year undergraduate course in Western Armenian almost entirely taught by computer. Such a program may be particularly attractive to students of Armenian descent — language maintenance being a major requirement for the preservation of cultural traditions, as Eteri Tumanyan points out in her survey of the 'Armenian Language in Armenian Communities Abroad (The Sociolinguistic Aspect)' (115-119), in which she singles out a number of determining factors to explain the language loyalty and cultural integrity of Armenians abroad, namely the high level of cultural life in the communities, the maintenance of close links with the homeland, definite ethnopsychological characteristics of the Armenians, and the Church.
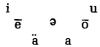
As appears from this brief analysis of the contents of the Proceedings, the Conference organized with talent and unflagging energy by John A.C. Greppin was a most successful testimony to the vitality and high quality of Armenian studies and to their growing importance in the field of historical-comparative, descriptive and applied linguistics as well as sociolinguistics.

E. Polomé
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Anahit Nšani Haneyan, *Tigranakerti Barbaṙə*. Yerevan 1978. Dariko Mesropi Kastandyan, Erznkayi Barbaṙə Yerevan 1979.

Two splendid dialect studies have been added to the many score that have earlier appeared from Yerevan. They continue a tradition founded as a modern science by Adjarian with his short study of the dialect of Aslanbek (Venice 1898). It is a field that has seen great advancement, principally through the continuing work of Adjarian, who established the procedures still used today, and through subsequent theoretical revisions by the late academician A. A. Gharibyan.

These two publications deal with two quite different dialects, Tigranakert, which falls into group V according to the Gharibyan classification, and Erzinka, which would be a part of group VII. Both studies, however, have one thing in common, and that is they both are clearly written, well documented studies that cover precisely all aspects of phonology and morphology. However, syntax remains an area that is weakly handled in an old-fashioned manner.

The dialect of Tigranakert, close in shape to the dialects of Edesse, Ordu and Malatya, is phonetically rather straightforward. It has reduced the threefold consonantism of Grabar to a twofold system: voiced, and voiceless-aspirate. Thus Grab. g and k > Tigr. k^c; Grab. k > Tigr. g, and so forth for the whole obstruent series. The vowel system is pristine in its simplicity, and lacks the development of a [v-] prothesis to o-, and of a [y] prothesis to e-. Thus we have:

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{i} & & \text{u} \\
\bar{\text{e}} & \text{ə} & \bar{\text{o}} \\
& \ddot{\text{a}} \quad \text{a} &
\end{array}
$$

The development of ä, and its collocation with a seems to be difficult to explain (see an earlier comment by Haneyan in Lraber 1972.2.19-26), and more attention must yet be given to a description of that development.

The dialect of Erzinka is more complicated. Though it would seem generally to fall into group VII, a group with again only two continuations of the Grabar threefold consonant series, there is a twofold development of the Grabar voiceless series. We have Grab. p > Erz. p, Grab. p^c, but Grab. b > both p and p^c, a feature noted elsewhere in group VII, a cluster which includes Maragha, Urmia, Vozmi and Van. This group is perhaps the most interesting of all the dialect groups, and one Pisowicz (Le développement du consonantism arménien, Cracow 1976) had much new to say about.

J.A.C.G.

Martiros Minassian, *Grammaire d'arménien oriental*, Caravan Books, Box 344 Delmar NY 12054. 1981. $35.00

———————————

A reliable and comprehensive grammar of Modern Eastern Armenian has long been overdue. F.N. Finck's *Lehrbuch der Neuostarmenischen Litteratursprache* (1902), A. Abeghian's *Neuarmenische Grammatik* (1936), and L. Movsessian's *Armenische Grammatik* (1958) amount to no more than brief sketches and are obsolete. Fairbanks's and Stevick's *Spoken East Armenian* (1958) is inadequate and, also, out of date. This serious gap now seems to have been admirably filled by the timely appearance of Mr. Martiros Minassian's *Grammaire d'arménien oriental*. This is a comprehensive reference volume using the reformed orthography and the extensive research carried out in Yerevan. The material is sound and is presented in a detailed and lucid fashion with abundant examples and due attention to the nuances of usage. Two elaborate indices, in Armenian and French, provide a coherent overview of the individual topics discussed in the grammar. There is a select bibliography of sources and dictionaries and an introduction tracing, rather briefly, the emergence of Eastern Armenian. The book is neatly typed, reproduced and bound, with remarkably few typographical errors.

There are a few points to be made about this grammar and one might as well begin with its somewhat misleading title. In view of

the material presented here the title of this book should have been
more precisely defined (e.g. A Grammar of *Modern* or *Contemporary*
Eastern Armenian) since the volume includes no references to any of
the earlier forms of Eastern Armenian. Similarly inconsistent with
the contents of the book is the author's claim that it represents both
the written and spoken forms of the idiom. True, the divergence be-
tween spoken and written Eastern Armenian is not so great, but is
distinct enough to have warranted more than the few references to
usages in "langage familier". As a telling example, one can point to
the omission of the spoken forms of the demonstrative pronouns (ēs,
ēd, ēn, ētc.) which are the only spoken forms and have been consist-
ently used by such literary giants as Tumanian and Isahakian. What
this book describes, then, (despite the occasional inclusion of such
colloquial forms as p'asa-p'usa) is the formal version of Contempo-
rary Eastern Armenian. The author has totally relied, both in form
and substance, on his sources which usually tend to attach rather ex-
cessive importance to "proper" forms and rules disregarding unor-
thodox yet common deviations. This may explain the impression one
is left with, that the material has been approached from a native
speaker's point of view and spoken forms and recent changes affect-
ing the Soviet Armenian standard have been excluded. A case in
point is the influence of Russian, good or bad, which goes far beyond
loan words and calques (referred to by the author in his introduction)
and is too great to be ignored. Of course one does not expect a detailed
examination, nor extreme examples (usually found in the daily
Sovetakan Hayastan), but certain syntactical trends which seem to
be gaining permanent ground even in literary texts should have been
discussed.

A few important topics have been left out of this text, notably,
the diminutive, the concordance of verbs with multiple subjects in
varying persons, and the use of the double negative with negative
pronouns. In addition to the special uses of the subjunctive, of *ner*
(*teł, tełer,* but *tełners*), and of the definite article with verbs of motion,
the number of nouns following numerals and word order have been
inadequately treated. It is not enough to make a general statement and
occasional observations especially when dealing with as flexible a
word order as that of Armenian; a list of common patterns, or at least
a few impermissible combinations would have been in order. A mi-
nor, but perplexing puzzle for non-Armenians is the position of the
question mark; and some general guidelines would have been not
only extremely helpful but also a genuine contribution. One or two

Western Armenian forms and inaccuracies have crept into the text which is now and then obscured by excessively detailed descriptions and unnecessary comparisons. All in all, however, this is a meticulous compilation of solid merits, indeed, in many respects, a pioneering work in a major Western language. Mr. Minassian who is superbly qualified for the task by virtue of his professional training and experience and of having been a resident of Soviet Armenia for 23 years, has accomplished far more than what he has modestly undertaken. For a long time to come, his grammar should benefit much wider an audience than the restricted circle of "Arménistes" for whom it has been designed.

Kevork B. Bardakjian
Harvard University

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